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**MAJMA'-UL-BAHRAIN**  
OR  
**THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS**

BY  
**PRINCE MUHAMMAD DARA SHIKUH.**

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN  
WITH  
ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS

BY  
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# NOTICE.

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## BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

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[TRANSLATION]

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In the following Index Sanskrit words have been arranged as they are given in the text, and not as they are written in Sanskrit but an attempt has been made to transliterate them wherever possible. Such proper names as *Jabbar* or *Mahish* etc have for good reasons been included in this list

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# INDEX I

[TRANSLATION]

## Names of Persons

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لهذا جانبیت تعمیر ما (صلعم) ارس نامت نمیسود زیرا که در روز دیگر تعمیر read  
 در میان را 13 R adds , علیه الصلوة والسلام بعدت موجود خواهد شد  
 و آنها را بنساخت 14 R adds after ستر R adds , before  
 با اخی 15 R adds , باز است after و صندوق یکسان و دند که در هر صندوق  
 , اس after اسرار 17 R adds , با صندوق 16 A, K, R omit , پسند که after  
 18 A has که موصوم بمجتمع الفحریں کسند 19 R has حضرت النبی صلی  
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- دور درهم رن R omits 18 , عالم بنای , while R adds , آفرینس after  
 R reads for آس A has , موکل A omits 19 , مها برس است  
 بوسنا نام موکل که بر مهر و عصب است
- ۳۶ 2 R has and A has for لوک 3 A omits 4 A, II K have for لوکها H omits 6 A, H read  
 آفتاب آفتاب before حسن , while K adds , آفتاب درجسدن و معای بدن  
 بدن مها برس after و بران هدد این مهابرس را بهرات صرور بدر گویند  
 انسان کامل مها مده R reads 8 R adds , صرور است R omits , است  
 9 A reads , و مها برس و طلل الله و مطهر آفتاب داب حلول خانه  
 ار خانه A reads before داوود H adds 10 , چنانکه حکم سد داوود  
 and R has for دار 11 R has و منیرا ار خانه and R has  
 نا من درو خانه خود کنم و فرمود که با داوود ادا ران لی طالباً فکی له  
 خادمی یعنی ای داوود هر کجا بینی عاسق مرا بس سوار برای او خدمتگاری  
 R omits , هرچه before بس R adds , دهنده نا او من برسد  
 درین برهمنان بعصل بر داب انسان کامل مکمل اکمل که او بسکت عالم  
 بطریق احوال و بعصل و او خلاصه موجودات است بر R reads 12 R omits  
 حناکت این آب کریمه باطنی در سان R reads 13 , هدی یکی از مخلوقات بسب  
 R , در دانست R omits یعنی رسنگاری 16 K R omit , اوسب  
 A, H, K , و بهسب و دورج 18 R omits , اصمبال صمکلال در داب  
 R adds after مستور R omits , و سب
- ۳۷ 1 2 R omits the Persian translation 4 A, H add after  
 و در باب بودن در حبب R omits 7 , سب for سب R has  
 , مراد از اندب این مک است A, II, K read 9 , همدشه after مود  
 and 10 A, K, R have 12-15 the Persian translation is defective in all the texts, and the variants are  
 در باب این چلیس جماعت است این در آنگ کریمه  
 درنگ کنندگان باشد K reads , مردی A has 19 20  
 و حاووان مانندگان اندرو
- ۳۸ 2 A reads و طهور و طهور و طهور , R omits and الوهت 4 A, H,

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- نامهای آن R has این هفت سمندر A reads 5 , گویند محبط  
 for آب شیرین A has 9 , دریا after که سبب سمندر گویند H adds , دریاها  
 عظیم سوادحل for هفتم ننگ سمندر که آن را ترک گویند A reads , ستر  
 بردن دریاها بعد هفتم برد اهل A reads , تعداد دریای هفت R has رلال  
 یعنی H, K , یعنی اگر درسی 11 A has , اسلام ناب دین آنکه کریمه است  
 یعنی A, K read , یعنی مقدار است R omits 13 , اگر در سینه  
 K 17 , موحدان A has 15 , مقدار است حدار هر رمن و کوهی  
 که مقرر است و ستاره اند H reads 19 , محققان has
- ۲۷ 5 A reads باشد که از عمل صورت گرفته باشد 6 A, H, K  
 have بعد after فراغ A, H, K add , حواله از عمل ننگ حواله از عمل ند  
 omits 8 R omits , و بی H omits , و بی H omits , و بی H omits  
 add K could , ناله after رار and A adds درار H adds , مراد after سبب  
 not be deciphered 14 A adds بر آرد R has , بروردگار after که آنها را از آنجا بر آرد  
 سده اند and H, K add سده پس and A adds پس 15 A adds , بر  
 respectively, after سبب A has باشد A, H omit  
 17 , از آنجا for اردوج R has , بروردگار بر حواله H reads 16 , نا هنگامه  
 یعنی این آب فرموده H has 19 بر آوردن اردوج بر آورده R omits  
 and R has این حدب روان کرده
- ۲۸ 4 H, R have دارد and A has رساند for در آرد 5 H, K read  
 7 A, K read , درین معنی ناب سده and A reads ناب سده از  
 8 A, H, K omit این رسانگی عظم است H has , و این رسانگی بزرگ است  
 12 R omits the translation , 13 A has معلوم for  
 14 A, K, R omit معنی و اینکه A, H, K add در before , صورت  
 15 A, H, K add در هر که before رسانده و هر که در  
 K has and A has بخردی and A has بخردی A, H, K omit هم  
 19 H has نمودن and R has نمودن for نمودن و هم
- ۲۹ 1 A, H, K omit والا کرام 4 R adds بعد 4 R adds  
 5 H omits طاهر مسود while R has نماید 6 R adds  
 7 R reads نیز اعلی باشد after و فردوس اکثر است

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رسنگاری و H has , رستگار رسد و A adds 9 , هر سه قسم است  
 هر A adds و تک ورد R omits , بندد و ک R omits 10 احلاص  
 , بلکه بعدا کند و بد را بعبر سبب نکند بلکه بعدد R reads 11 تک  
 R has for عر and بسلسل for سلسل 13 A, H K have  
 R adds صررب کتب for صرر کتبه and R صمدب کتبه A h 14  
 and K واندای H adds , واندی A adds 14 , جسمانی before اطلف  
 A, H, K omit و آن را 15 all texts omit , لطیف after و آن  
 اصصای R reads 17 , دره نانکوه for دره وحسی A, H, K have  
 A, H K omit تک فرد است 18 , و احصای محبلة ماکتبه تک فرد است  
 داب او K omit

۳۲ 2 A, H, K omit hmos 2 to 3 , 4 A has سبج سعدی 8 A, K  
 have میل بناس وعبره 9 A omits , دیگر شوره و من for دیگرها همه من  
 H, K , صوفی صافی for اسان 11 A has , اورا for دفرابه سرور  
 omit صافی A, H, K omit است 12 H has اند که احکا  
 14 A omits , ناشد R has , کف بای H omits است A has  
 , و سناطن ناحتهای بای مهابرس اند A omits , سبب بای for ناحص بای  
 15 K has بنان for سوارى and omits سبطان in 4 H, K the des  
 cription of کال comes before ابل 20 A, H, K omit تمام عالم

۳۳ 1 H has مَحَلِّت , 3 A, H, K have دسب راسب و چپ  
 and omit است مهابرس است 4 A omits , و سمنر A, H, K  
 omit است A adds که سعد است and H, K add , روسنی صبح گاد  
 , حاصه حادر مهابرس 4, H, K omit , صادق after , که رنگ سعد دارد  
 R only has (omitted in translation) که الکتَر ناکر ردای اساره نآن میکند  
 A , 7 A has روسنی for وب while H, K add روسنی before وب , A  
 بارچه ستر عورب for انرار R has , که رنگ سلق دارد for که سرج است  
 8 R only has (omitted in translation) اَلْعَظْمَةُ اَرَائِي كُنَان نآن میکند  
 A, H, K omit مکان A, H, K omit 9 A, H, K omit , حلف و عمو  
 کرد after و در سمددر می باشد 11 A, H, K add هب دریا  
 که آن آدس همه A, H, K add گرمی and و اس A, H, K omit







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- سَنِّتْ وَاَلْعَمَامِبْ for رَنَانِی R has هم 9 A, R, K omit در have  
 10 A, H, K, V omit رَکَبْ for رَکَبْ A, H, V, K have  
 reads اگر مَنگَلَنی که رَکَبْ را نَبَوَانْ دَدَنْدْ که دَدَنْدْ دَابْ رَکَبْ مَعَالِ اسْب  
 K omits 11 all texts, except A, omits دَدَنْدْ رَکَبْ را, R, add  
 رَکَبْ دَابْ رَکَبْ وِ مَرَفْ وِ لَطِیفْ یَیْ نَعْنَنْ نَا مَعْنَنْ A reads وِ مَرَفْ R,  
 12 R reads دَابْ رَکَبْ وِ مَرَفْ وِ لَطِیفْ اسْب مَعْنَنْ نَگَرَدَدْ V reads نَگَرَدَدْ  
 R 14 all texts, except R, omit رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds  
 has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds  
 15 R adds نَگَرَدَدْ after رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 17 A, H, K add رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds  
 18 R adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds  
 19 R adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds  
 20 R omits رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, adds

- ۱۹ 1 all texts, except R, omit رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 2 all texts, except R, have رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 3 R has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 4 all texts, except R, omit رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 5 A, H, K add رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 6 R omits رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 7 all texts, except R, omit رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 8 H, K, V read رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 9 R has made strange additions and alterations رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 10 A, H, V have رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 11 R reads رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 12 all texts, except R, omit رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 13 V adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has  
 16 R adds رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has رَکَبْ رَکَبْ R, has



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- اشارت باین معنی A adds 12 , باها دراز کن حوس می حسب A, V read  
و بریا before است
- ۱۳ 1 A has for هوب , 4 A, V, K add ناد and II adds و ناد  
آوار ناد را برای A reads , هوب for بجهت 5 all texts have آوار  
6 A, H, K, , هندیان نفس الرحمان که بجهت اسعاد لفظ کن ظاهر شد  
9 K , همه عالم صدای بجهت اوسب 8 A H read آوار , 13 A, H, R omit  
اکابر after آگلا
- ۱۴ 1 K omits بی , H K omit الفاظ 3 4 A V read اول ظاهر شده H  
5 , اوون باشد ظاهر شد and K has او باشد R, has الف و او منم باشد  
A reads اسم راست صورتی حاض H reads , نس این ظاهر شد R reads  
and اسم راست صورتی حواص H reads , مر این اسم اعظم را صورتیست خاص  
R reads , مر این اسم را صورتی است خاص R reads  
ما R, V omit 7
- ۱۵ 2 K has بصورت for 4 V adds حود اسال حود 4 V adds  
اولیای R has صفا after ورنگ که K adds 5 منوره است after فرموده  
دیگر نمی باشد R has , حق سبحانه تعالی omit , all texts, except R, omit  
سود for رود R has 8 , شخصی H, V have 7 , دیگری در نمی باشد  
9 all texts, except R omit H, V omit , بستند H, V omit بستند and V نکند  
10 all texts except H, omit , و حال آنکه R omit  
and H omits این همه کارها K V have , همه این کارها A, R have  
11 R adds حرام before حرام , R has در نیک دیگر R has , همه  
except R omit حل خانه
- ۱۶ 1 A has فکر for فهم R has است R has  
2 R has عمل عبادۃ العین H reads , بفکر فی ساعه حیر من عمل عبادۃ العین  
V reads , و بفکروا ساعه حیر من عمل العین K reads , حیر من عمل العین  
and A reads بفکر ساعه حیرا من عمل العین  
3 R reads بهتر است R omits 5 , یعنی درین فکر بودن  
6 all texts, except R, omit , این نور , all texts, except R, have  
7 , حواله عالم درو نهاد حواله بنماید all texts have حود بعد از همه  
R adds before لفظ K has , نور R has for منور

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H reads <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں for <sup>ہے</sup> ہے, 8 A, H have <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 12 V omits <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 13 all texts add <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں after <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 15 R has <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں and <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں for <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, all texts, except R, have <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں for <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 16 H, K have <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, while V omits <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 17 H, K, V have <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں for <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, 18 all texts omit <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں, A has <sup>نہیں</sup> نہیں

- 17 A, K V add روح است after و آن سینه که روح است add A, K V 2, 3 A, II, K omit هم, R omits و افروخته شده هم روح است و افروخته شده است از سکرة مبارک داب که مکرراً A reads است آن حراع all texts, except R, R adds و سلم نور وجود after صلوة الله علیه و سلم, R omits 4 all texts omit حو مسجانه تعالى A, R read مراد است 5 R has for ازب روح, R has 6, 7 A, K add موحدان after موحدان 8 A, K have ربنون and H adds ربنون, R omits 9 A reads کتاب سمع, II has کتاب سمع, A reads و سمع کتاب سمع, K has و سمع and V has و سمعی و اکسماب سمع, R has و سمع کتاب سمع, K has 10 V has نورانی for دانی, all texts, except R, omit 11 II, K, R have نانهمه and A adds نانهمه for و نان و نان, R omits 12 A omits طاهر است 13 A omits 14 A omits 15 A omits 16 all texts, except H, omit 17 A, H have 18 A, H have 19 A, H have 20 A, H have 21 A, H have 22 A, H have 23 A, H have 24 A, H have 25 A, H have 26 A, H have 27 A, H have 28 A, H have 29 A, H have 30 A, H have 31 A, H have 32 A, H have 33 A, H have 34 A, H have 35 A, H have 36 A, H have 37 A, H have 38 A, H have 39 A, H have 40 A, H have 41 A, H have 42 A, H have 43 A, H have 44 A, H have 45 A, H have 46 A, H have 47 A, H have 48 A, H have 49 A, H have 50 A, H have 51 A, H have 52 A, H have 53 A, H have 54 A, H have 55 A, H have 56 A, H have 57 A, H have 58 A, H have 59 A, H have 60 A, H have 61 A, H have 62 A, H have 63 A, H have 64 A, H have 65 A, H have 66 A, H have 67 A, H have 68 A, H have 69 A, H have 70 A, H have 71 A, H have 72 A, H have 73 A, H have 74 A, H have 75 A, H have 76 A, H have 77 A, H have 78 A, H have 79 A, H have 80 A, H have 81 A, H have 82 A, H have 83 A, H have 84 A, H have 85 A, H have 86 A, H have 87 A, H have 88 A, H have 89 A, H have 90 A, H have 91 A, H have 92 A, H have 93 A, H have 94 A, H have 95 A, H have 96 A, H have 97 A, H have 98 A, H have 99 A, H have 100 A, H have 101 A, H have 102 A, H have 103 A, H have 104 A, H have 105 A, H have 106 A, H have 107 A, H have 108 A, H have 109 A, H have 110 A, H have 111 A, H have 112 A, H have 113 A, H have 114 A, H have 115 A, H have 116 A, H have 117 A, H have 118 A, H have 119 A, H have 120 A, H have 121 A, H have 122 A, H have 123 A, H have 124 A, H have 125 A, H have 126 A, H have 127 A, H have 128 A, H have 129 A, H have 130 A, H have 131 A, H have 132 A, H have 133 A, H have 134 A, H have 135 A, H have 136 A, H have 137 A, H have 138 A, H have 139 A, H have 140 A, H have 141 A, H have 142 A, H have 143 A, H have 144 A, H have 145 A, H have 146 A, H have 147 A, H have 148 A, H have 149 A, H have 150 A, H have 151 A, H have 152 A, H have 153 A, H have 154 A, H have 155 A, H have 156 A, H have 157 A, H have 158 A, H have 159 A, H have 160 A, H have 161 A, H have 162 A, H have 163 A, H have 164 A, H have 165 A, H have 166 A, H have 167 A, H have 168 A, H have 169 A, H have 170 A, H have 171 A, H have 172 A, H have 173 A, H have 174 A, H have 175 A, H have 176 A, H have 177 A, H have 178 A, H have 179 A, H have 180 A, H have 181 A, H have 182 A, H have 183 A, H have 184 A, H have 185 A, H have 186 A, H have 187 A, H have 188 A, H have 189 A, H have 190 A, H have 191 A, H have 192 A, H have 193 A, H have 194 A, H have 195 A, H have 196 A, H have 197 A, H have 198 A, H have 199 A, H have 200 A, H have 201 A, H have 202 A, H have 203 A, H have 204 A, H have 205 A, H have 206 A, H have 207 A, H have 208 A, H have 209 A, H have 210 A, H have 211 A, H have 212 A, H have 213 A, H have 214 A, H have 215 A, H have 216 A, H have 217 A, H have 218 A, H have 219 A, H have 220 A, H have 221 A, H have 222 A, H have 223 A, H have 224 A, H have 225 A, H have 226 A, H have 227 A, H have 228 A, H have 229 A, H have 230 A, H have 231 A, H have 232 A, H have 233 A, H have 234 A, H have 235 A, H have 236 A, H have 237 A, H have 238 A, H have 239 A, H have 240 A, H have 241 A, H have 242 A, H have 243 A, H have 244 A, H have 245 A, H have 246 A, H have 247 A, H have 248 A, H have 249 A, H have 250 A, H have 251 A, H have 252 A, H have 253 A, H have 254 A, H have 255 A, H have 256 A, H have 257 A, H have 258 A, H have 259 A, H have 260 A, H have 261 A, H have 262 A, H have 263 A, H have 264 A, H have 265 A, H have 266 A, H have 267 A, H have 268 A, H have 269 A, H have 270 A, H have 271 A, H have 272 A, H have 273 A, H have 274 A, H have 275 A, H have 276 A, H have 277 A, H have 278 A, H have 279 A, H have 280 A, H have 281 A, H have 282 A, H have 283 A, H have 284 A, H have 285 A, H have 286 A, H have 287 A, H have 288 A, H have 289 A, H have 290 A, H have 291 A, H have 292 A, H have 293 A, H have 294 A, H have 295 A, H have 296 A, H have 297 A, H have 298 A, H have 299 A, H have 300 A, H have 301 A, H have 302 A, H have 303 A, H have 304 A, H have 305 A, H have 306 A, H have 307 A, H have 308 A, H have 309 A, H have 310 A, H have 311 A, H have 312 A, H have 313 A, H have 314 A, H have 315 A, H have 316 A, H have 317 A, H have 318 A, H have 319 A, H have 320 A, H have 321 A, H have 322 A, H have 323 A, H have 324 A, H have 325 A, H have 326 A, H have 327 A, H have 328 A, H have 329 A, H have 330 A, H have 331 A, H have 332 A, H have 333 A, H have 334 A, H have 335 A, H have 336 A, H have 337 A, H have 338 A, H have 339 A, H have 340 A, H have 341 A, H have 342 A, H have 343 A, H have 344 A, H have 345 A, H have 346 A, H have 347 A, H have 348 A, H have 349 A, H have 350 A, H have 351 A, H have 352 A, H have 353 A, H have 354 A, H have 355 A, H have 356 A, H have 357 A, H have 358 A, H have 359 A, H have 360 A, H have 361 A, H have 362 A, H have 363 A, H have 364 A, H have 365 A, H have 366 A, H have 367 A, H have 368 A, H have 369 A, H have 370 A, H have 371 A, H have 372 A, H have 373 A, H have 374 A, H have 375 A, H have 376 A, H have 377 A, H have 378 A, H have 379 A, H have 380 A, H have 381 A, H have 382 A, H have 383 A, H have 384 A, H have 385 A, H have 386 A, H have 387 A, H have 388 A, H have 389 A, H have 390 A, H have 391 A, H have 392 A, H have 393 A, H have 394 A, H have 395 A, H have 396 A, H have 397 A, H have 398 A, H have 399 A, H have 400 A, H have 401 A, H have 402 A, H have 403 A, H have 404 A, H have 405 A, H have 406 A, H have 407 A, H have 408 A, H have 409 A, H have 410 A, H have 411 A, H have 412 A, H have 413 A, H have 414 A, H have 415 A, H have 416 A, H have 417 A, H have 418 A, H have 419 A, H have 420 A, H have 421 A, H have 422 A, H have 423 A, H have 424 A, H have 425 A, H have 426 A, H have 427 A, H have 428 A, H have 429 A, H have 430 A, H have 431 A, H have 432 A, H have 433 A, H have 434 A, H have 435 A, H have 436 A, H have 437 A, H have 438 A, H have 439 A, H have 440 A, H have 441 A, H have 442 A, H have 443 A, H have 444 A, H have 445 A, H have 446 A, H have 447 A, H have 448 A, H have 449 A, H have 450 A, H have 451 A, H have 452 A, H have 453 A, H have 454 A, H have 455 A, H have 456 A, H have 457 A, H have 458 A, H have 459 A, H have 460 A, H have 461 A, H have 462 A, H have 463 A, H have 464 A, H have 465 A, H have 466 A, H have 467 A, H have 468 A, H have 469 A, H have 470 A, H have 471 A, H have 472 A, H have 473 A, H have 474 A, H have 475 A, H have 476 A, H have 477 A, H have 478 A, H have 479 A, H have 480 A, H have 481 A, H have 482 A, H have 483 A, H have 484 A, H have 485 A, H have 486 A, H have 487 A, H have 488 A, H have 489 A, H have 490 A, H have 491 A, H have 492 A, H have 493 A, H have 494 A, H have 495 A, H have 496 A, H have 497 A, H have 498 A, H have 499 A, H have 500 A, H have 501 A, H have 502 A, H

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- K, صریحه منی و نوئی 11 R has حساب معسوسه for حساب معسوس  
 A has after ارس سخن V adds , که من و تو می افند  
 12 H, K repeat دور می افند for دور هشتم  
 13 A has , حر ارس نسبت  
 14 H has معنی and R has معنی for معنی آدمی  
 16 R has معنی قلب , all texts, except R, omit قلب نامهربان  
 K omits و ارس سبک من و ارس R reads 17 که آن را ترک بر گویند  
 H has احساء for احسام , 18 A, H, R have گمان گمان اندری  
 8 1 R only has خبرئیل امنی باشد اسب  
 2 all texts, except V have اسب for گرداننده (omit in trans),  
 3 all texts have اسب for حدانکه , 4 V omits حدانکه را  
 5 R omits اسب خود را 6 H omits گلهها  
 7 all texts, except R, omit پس دار و هوس  
 8 all texts, except R omit پس دار  
 K omits پس دار و هوس  
 11 all texts, except R, omit معنی  
 12 all texts, except R, omit H, K, A omit بی اختیار  
 14 all texts, except R omit همدسته for همی باشد  
 V reads هر آن  
 all texts, except R, have و آن درون رن و نرس آمدن دم را  
 15 H, V, A have سو for او , all texts, except R, have درون  
 A has هنگ , H has و هنی V هنگ  
 R has و آن دو لفظ را که او باشد هم میگویند و آن لفظ و آن الله  
 R adds , 17 18 H, K, V, A omit و اوی خبر اسب  
 9 2 All texts, except R, have الله تعالی را برد صوفیه دو صفت اسب  
 5 all texts have صوفیه before چون , K, R omit صفت after  
 6 all texts, except H have دنده before مددح  
 H have و آب و نادر , 10 H, R, A omit ناسواصل  
 12 K, R omit در ریان , 13 A reads و بنائی از آن  
 H reads as , روشنی و نور و بنائی اسب از آن ظاهر شد  
 R reads ظاهر شد  
 14 V omits فانی سرد , 15 A adds دو نعل  
 در صور اسرافیل یعنی آواز مهاد و معنی نفس رن و نعل  
 16 R omits صفت هم , 18 all texts omit و حق نامند  
 محلول

10. 1 All texts, except R, omit <sup>را</sup> and <sup>و</sup> 2 V has <sup>گس</sup> for <sup>رگس</sup> 3 V has <sup>رگس</sup> for <sup>رگس</sup> 4 A has <sup>رگس</sup> for <sup>رگس</sup> 5 H, K, R have <sup>معدود</sup> for <sup>معدود</sup>, while A reads <sup>معدود</sup> 6 K adds <sup>که</sup> before <sup>در مرتبه</sup>, all texts, except K, have <sup>بعضی اول منعی گس</sup> 7 A, V, H omit <sup>که با داب معجم</sup> 8 R has <sup>جامع الصفات</sup>, all texts omit <sup>و دانکه</sup> 9 H reads <sup>نفس و مرج آب</sup> and A, R read <sup>نفس و مرج آب</sup>, all texts read <sup>که سر بر و آنها باشد</sup> 10 A omits <sup>ماد</sup> 11 R has <sup>نفس</sup> for <sup>حس</sup>, A reads <sup>آب صرف نك (?) بمنزل حصر و احب الوجود باشد</sup>
11. 1 A adds <sup>after</sup> <sup>بمعنی کمال</sup> 2 R has <sup>گرنه</sup> 3 all texts have <sup>مواضع</sup> 4 all texts omit <sup>عالم</sup> before <sup>ملکوت</sup> 5 A adds <sup>و عینه</sup> after <sup>باشد</sup> 6 R adds <sup>عالم ارواح</sup> 7 H omits <sup>عالم ارواح</sup> 8 R reads <sup>عالم ارواح</sup> 9 R omits <sup>بنی</sup> while H has <sup>بنی</sup> 10 A has <sup>بنی</sup> 11 V omits <sup>بنی</sup> 12 H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 13 K omits <sup>بنی</sup> 14 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 15 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 16 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 17 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 18 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 19 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 20 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 21 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 22 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 23 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 24 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 25 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 26 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 27 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 28 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 29 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 30 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 31 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 32 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 33 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 34 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 35 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 36 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 37 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 38 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 39 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 40 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 41 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 42 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 43 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 44 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 45 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 46 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 47 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 48 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 49 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 50 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 51 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 52 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 53 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 54 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 55 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 56 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 57 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 58 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 59 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 60 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 61 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 62 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 63 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 64 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 65 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 66 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 67 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 68 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 69 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 70 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 71 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 72 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 73 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 74 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 75 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 76 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 77 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 78 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 79 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 80 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 81 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 82 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 83 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 84 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 85 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 86 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 87 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 88 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 89 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 90 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 91 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 92 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 93 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 94 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 95 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 96 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 97 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 98 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 99 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup> 100 A, V, H, K, R have <sup>بنی</sup>

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- all texts omit جنبه H, V A omit بعراض و عوام 21 R has بس نصرالله except V, which has نصرالله
- ۳ 1 K has می درمورد for در, all texts, except V, have در for  
A, R, V بهتجار, A adds می امورم after سوم, A adds ارو after دار,  
4 A has همن باسوی 9 R has موجود for موجودات, 10 R has و آن  
before برحق, A, H K have احل R احل, H adds اصل  
after اسب 11 A has کتب for کتاب, 13 A has هدنی for نریان  
نریان, A adds و اهل اسلام را before و کتب 14 A omits  
بافریدم 15 R has نهان for محلی and V نوشده A has دال اسب  
for طاهر کردم H K, A omit حود برای صاحب R has  
after حل را
- ۴ 2 V has اجمال H اجماع K, A اعطیت for عاتیت 3 R omits  
حس for حنس A, و حون آن نفس آس بددا شد  
4 A, H K, V have محصت for محصت 5 V omits آب  
K, R, A have انجاد for انجاد, 7 A, H have آب 8 A  
V, H, K have طاهر for بددا 9 H has سرک and A سر  
13 14 all MSS, except R, omit the verse شما شد  
17 V has یک قطره before برو حواهد برد 18 V has  
آب را آک for و بعد اراں حاک را آب  
A, H have روح اعظم for روح اعظم صاحب  
21 A, V omit the translation of the verse of the  
*Kur'ān*
- ۵ 1 II has بوده and K has شود for بود, H, R have می before ماند,  
R omits بر after بروردگار, 2 all texts, except K, omit کریمه A, H  
have اسب after ریمه, H omits اسب after 3 K has  
فانی حراهد سد for فانیسب 4 H has آن before فنا, R omits  
5 A has اسب for باسد, R, V omit باسد, R omits حه 6 V has  
all texts, except V, have رائده for بددا 7 V omits  
نامد for گریند 8 A, II, V have اراں for آنه کریمه  
9 A has اس before کریمه 10 A, H, V have دران حاک بروردم  
and V has حواهدم برد for بروردم A has بار

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for the same, R adds و بار بکاک ستردیم سها را , V omits ار آن حاک ,  
 A has نار before 10 A adds حسنه after حواس , 11 H V  
 have عناصر for عناصر , H adds بعدگانه after عنصر , K omits عنصر ,  
 V has عنصر for عناصر , V omits بران , 12 R has هندی for هند A, H,  
 V omit بران , 13 A has را and K has آنها را for آن را , 14 V has  
 مدخلی for اربس H and R have ار for عناصر before اربس , A has مدخلی  
 before حسس , 15 K omits بآن و منسوب بآن , A has ناسد after بآن ,  
 A R have حنا before سامه H omits اسب before بکاک , R has  
 حه for چراکه , 16 R has و after حاک , all texts, except K,  
 have احساس for احسان , all texts have مناسب  
 for منسوب , except K, which has مناسب دارد , 17 H reads  
 مناسب دارد for مناسب اسب , A has مناسب نه دانده طاهر اسب  
 اسب for رنگها , V has رنگها for درک , 18 R has ادراک  
 after بحسم , K omits هر دو and R has هر دو for هر دو , H has  
 لاسمه for

- ۶ 1 R omits ناد اسب و لاسمه را نسبت , A has مناسب دارد for منسوب  
 و موجدان هند که موفقه 4 V omits که نسبت for نسبت 2 H has اسب  
 A, H, K, V have شعل آوار for شعل اناس , 5 A, H, K, V omit حود  
 6 all MSS have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses,  
 8 H, K, V have چتراند کون , while A has چترانيس کون , 9 A has  
 , K, H have سرب برکوب , V has سرب , R has سرب for سرب  
 11 all texts have حاب or بحاب for طرف , all texts, except V,  
 have اسب for آن , 12 V has عربيت for عربيت , H, V, R have  
 and A has فسق for فسق , 13 R has هر طرف و هر سو , 15 V has  
 کلی احاطه , 17 all texts, except R, have که انسان میگویند عسی اسب

- ۷ 1 2 A omits translation of the *Kur'ānic* verse , 3 A, H have نس  
 after اوستا , 4 H has ناسد for ناسد 6 all texts have واللّه ,  
 7 R has هر دو for طهر , 9 H has اولی and R has اولی for ادنی ,  
 10 A, H have معسوس , V has هنبات معسوسه , and K has



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- حسابه , all texts omit , H, V, A omit بحواص و عوام , R has 21 , بس  
بصرالله , except V, which has بصرالله
- ۳ 1 K has فرموده for می فرمودند , all texts, except V, have در for بر ,  
A, R, V بهدجار , A adds و می آموزم , A adds سبوم after , دار after ,  
4 A has همن باسولی , 9 R has موجود for موجودات , 10 R has و آن  
اصل , H adds برحق for احل , A, H, K have احل R احل , برحق  
after اسب , 11 A has کتب for کتاب , 13 A has هندی for بریا  
بریا , A adds و اهل اسلام را before و کتب , 14 A omits بریا  
بنافردیم , R has 15 , بنها for مکتبی V and نوشته A , دال اسب  
for طاهر کردیم , H, K, A omit خود برای سحابه سد , R has  
after حل را
- ۴ 2 V has احوال , H احوالست , K, A اعطيت for عايت , R omits  
حسن for حسن , و حور آن نفس , آس بددا سد  
4 A, H, K, V have مکتب for مکتب , 5 V omits اک و حور  
8 , A, H have بآن , 7 A, H have انعاد for انعاد , K, R, A have بددا سد  
13 , H has سرک and سر for شری , V, H, K have طاهر for بددا , 9  
14 all MSS except R omit the verse سها شد , 17 V  
has before مرو حواهد برد , 18 V has و آن را آب for و بعد ارا حاک را آب  
ناد را روح اعظم , R has با روح اعظم for روح اعظم , A, H have  
21 A, V omit the translation of the verse of the  
*Ku'ān*
- ۵ 1 H has بوده and K has شود for می , H, R have before می ,  
R omits after بروردگار , 2 all texts, except K, omit کریمه , A, H  
have اسب after ریمه , H omits اسب for انباي , 3 K has اسب  
فانی حواهد سد for فانی , 4 H has فانی , R omits آن before  
5 A has اسب for فانی , R, V omit فانی , R omits چه , 6 V has  
7 V omits , 7 V omits , 7 V omits , 7 V omits , 7 V omits , 7 V omits  
8 A, H, V have ارا for اس , 9 V omits , 9 V omits , 9 V omits  
و دران حاک بروردیم and V has حواهد برد for بروردیم , A has

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for the same, R adds و بار بکاک سپردیم بها را, V omits حاک, A has بار before بدریں, 10 A adds حسنه after حواس, 11 H, V have عناصر for عناصر H adds بعدگانه after عنصر, K omits عناصر, V has بنج اند, V omits برنای, 12 R has هندی for هدی, A, H, V omit برنای 13 A has را and K has آنها را for آن را, 14 V has مدعای for ارب, H and R have ار for ارب before عناصر, A has مدعای before حس, 15 K omits بآن, A has باشد after و منسوب بآن, A, R have چنانچه before شامه, H omits است before بکاک R has حاک for حس, 16 R has و for و after حاک all texts, except K, have کد, V has احسان for احساس, all texts have مناسب for منسوب, except K, which has مناسب دارد, 17 H reads مناسب دارد for مناسب است, A has چنانچه نه دانعه ظاهر است, 18 R has ادراک for درک, V has رنگا for رنگ, A omits است after سامعه, K omits هر دو and R has دو for هر دو, H has سامعه for لامعه

- 4 1 R omits باد است و لامعه را بسبب, A has مناسب دارد for منسوب و موهّجان هندی که موهّبه 2 H has بسبب for سبب, 4 V omits موهّبه 5 A, H, K, V have شعل آوار for شعل انعام, 5 A, H, K, V omit حدود, 6 all MSS have strange variations in enumerating the five internal senses, 8 H, K, V have چتراندس کن, while A has چتراندس کن, 9 A has سبب برکوب for برکوب, K, H have برکوب, V has برکوب, R has برکوب for برکوب, 11 all texts have حاک or حاکب for طرف, all texts, except V, have من for آن, 12 V has عربت for غربت, H, V, R have فصیح and A has فصیح for فصیح, 13 R has هر طرف و هر سو, 15 V has گلی احاطه, 17 all texts, except R, have گلی احاطه

- 7 1 2 A omits translation of the *Kur ānīc* verse, 3 A, H have پس after all اوست, 4 H has باشد for باشد, 6 all texts have والله, 7 R has هر دو for ظهور, 9 H has اولی and R has اولی for ادنی, 10 A, H have هفت محسوس, V has هفت محسوسه and K has

ملحزای من و معسوف مرا پائیل نسف

هرچه آغار ندارد دربرک انکام

و هرچه از خصوصیات ظهور ذات و محققان در روز و شب پستین سده بی  
کم و نسی در روز و شب دیگر نعدده عود کند بموجب آنکه کریمه کما نَدَّأ نَا  
أَوَّلَ خَلْقٍ نَعْدَدُهُ (۱) - یعنی حدانکه ظاهر گردانندیم در اَوَّلِ خَلْقِ مَوْجُودَانِی  
را که معدوم گشته بود پس بعد از تمام شدن (ان) دوره بار عالم انوالکسر  
آدم عَلَیْهِ السَّلَام نعدده بددا سود و انزال چندی ناست و آنکه کریمه کما نَدَّأ کُم  
نَعْدُوهُ (۲) بیز دلالک برن معنی منکند یعنی حدانکه اَوَّلِ سَمَا را بددا کریم  
بار همان طور بددا کدیم - اگر کسی شده کدد که حاتمِ بنعمتر ما صَلَّی اللّٰهُ  
عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ارنی ناست نمیسود منگویم که در روز دیگر بر بنعمتر صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ  
وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ نعدده موحود خواهد گردید و حاتم بنعمتران آن روز خواهد  
گردید و ان حدنب سب معراج بر دلالک بر همین معنی منکند - منگوید  
که بنعمتر صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قطار سترانرا دند که لاندطع منوردد و بر هر یکی  
در صندوق ناست و در هر صندوق عالمی است مدل همین عالم و در هر عالم  
مدل خود محمّدی - از حنر کدل برسد که ان چندیست - گفت با رسول الله  
از وندیکه آفریده سده ام می ندیم که ان قطار ستران با صندوق منوردد و من  
هم نمیدانم که ان چندیست - و ان اشاره به بی بهادنی ادوار است \*

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَآلِیْهِ وَآلِیْهِ أَنَامِ رَسَالُهُ مَجْمَعُ الْخَيْرِینَ نَدَّی سَدَّ دَرِ سَدِّهِ  
نکهار و شصت و پنج هجری بموی که چهل و نهم از سنن عمر ان معبر  
بی اندوه محمّد دار اسکوه بود - وَالسَّلَام \*

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۱، ۴ \* (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷، ۲۹ \*

## VARIANTS

### LIST OF MSS REFERRED TO —

- 1 A MS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, III No 156)
- 2 H MS in the Āsifiya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan
- 3 K MS in the Khudā Baksh Khān (Oriental Public) Library, Patna
- 4 R MS in the Rāmpūr State Library, Rāmpūr, U P
- 5 V MS in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta

(Page numbers refer to the pages of the printed text)

### Page

- 1 K omits بنامی for بنام , 2 A, K add در before بطة , R omits بهم
- 3 K adds بنای before بنای , R has بی before بطر , 7 R has در همه اوسب طاهر و همه اوسب , K omits اوسب , 8 A, H omit بعد after نه , 9 A has حل for فرق , 6 R, K omit کرام , A omits اوباد and adds پس after عظام , V omits اما and adds پس after بعد , 7 K, R add بن شاهجهان بادشاه after دارا شکوه , 8 K, R omit دواق , 9 H omit در کسب کند for درک کند , all copies have و معصیان
- 10 A has بعد after این قوم , K, R have بعد after قوم , 11 all the texts have بعد after حدانی , V has بعد , 12 A has جمع کرده و معصیان داشته و گفنگوی نموده , A has داسب و گفنگوی نموده , 13 A, H, V, R have جمع for مجموعه , 14 A, H, V, R have پس سره , 15 R has انصاف before هر , 16 A, H, K, V omit

## ۲۱ — بیان روز و شب

الْوَهَّيْبِ طهور و بطون - بطورِ موحّدان هدد عمر برهما که حنرئیل باشد و منای برمهاند و نامی روز طهور که روز الوهیب باشد هرده اَنَحْ سال دنیا سب که هرانکی هزار سال دنیا باشد بموجب این دو آنگه کریمه و اِنَّ نَوْمًا عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مِّمَّا تَعُدُّونَ (۱) یعنی بدرسند که روز سب در روزگار دو مادی هزار سال که می شمارد اهل دنیا و آنگه کریمه، نَعْرُجُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَالرُّوحُ إِلَيْهِ فِي يَوْمٍ كَانَ مِقْدَارُهُ خَمْسِينَ أَلْفَ سَنَةٍ (۲) یعنی راجع میسود بسوی روزگار خود فرستگل و روح که عنایت از حنرئیل و برهماست در روزیکه مقدار آن روز بدگاه هزار سال و هر روز ارب بدگاه هزار از هزار سال معارف است که در آنگه اوّل بآن تصویر شده پس مَدَّبِ عَمْرِ حنرئیل و مَدَّبِ عمر روز و عمر نامی عالم که برهمااند باشد حساب مکدم هدد اَنَحْ سال دنیا باشد ر هرانکی هزار سال باشد بی کم و زیاد، مطابق حساب موحّدان هدد بدانکه خصوصیت اعداد هزده در انسان منکسر برهست ده است و ارب بالآخر مرتبه شمار قرار نداده اند و فیاضهای صغری که درین مدخل گنجاها اند و خواهند گنجاست آن فیاضها را کهنده پرتی میگویند مدخل طوفان آب با طوفان آس با طوفان باد، و چون این مَدَّب تمام گردد این روز تمام شود و فیاض کبری خواهد شد که آن را میا پرتی گویند حکم این دو آفتاب کریمه نَوْمٌ نَدْنُلُ الْأَرْضَ عَنَّا الْأَرْضُ عَنَّا الْآرِضُ (۳) یعنی روزیکه نَدَل کرده سود رمس را

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۲ + ۴۷ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷ + ۴۰ (۳) قرآن مجید، ۱۴ + ۴۸

بَعْرِ رَمَضٍ وَ تَوَمَّ تَطَوَّى السَّمَاءَ كَطَيِّ السَّحَابِ لِكُنْبِ (۱) بَعْدَى رُزْدِكِه بِنْتِ كَم  
 آسمانرا مانند کاعد برای کُنْب - و بعد از فدا می کبری در سب  
 بطون که در برابر روزِ ظهورِ اسب و استهلاکِ جمیعِ نعمات در حصرِ  
 داب خواهد شد بدر هر ده سالِ آنج دنیا سب - اوستهانم که عبارت از سکھویب  
 و حنروب اسب، مَدَبِ این سکھویب حصرِ دابِ اسب که او را  
 فراع اسب از انکادِ خلق و اعدامِ عالم و آتَمِ کرده سنقرعِ لَمِ آنه  
 النّعلی (۲) بَعْدَى رُودِ اسب که فراع مَسُومِ از سما ای ح و انس اشاره  
 ناس سکھویب اسب، و حصرِ داب در اَنامِ ظهورِ عالم در مقامِ ناسوف اسب  
 ر در فدا میهای صبری در مقامِ ملکوت و بعد از فدا می کبری در مقام  
 حنروب \*

ای عربز آنکه درین داب نوسه سده بعد از دَفَبِ تمام و تحققی بسنار  
 مطابق کسفِ حود اسب و این کسف ناس در آنه کرده مطابق آفاد و با آنکه  
 نو در هیچ کنایی ندند و از همکس بسندند اگر تر گوس بعضی از ناصال  
 گران آند ما را ارس معنی ناکمی بیسب فَاِنَّ اللَّهَ عَمِيَّ عَنِ الْعِلْمِ (۳) \*

## ۲۲ — بیان بی نهایتی ادوار

برد محققانِ اهلِ هدد حقِ تعالی را نه همدس نک سب اسب و نک  
 روز بلکه این سب که تمام شود بار روز مَسُود و روز که آخرِ سب سب می  
 آند اِلَى عَذْرِ النَّهْكَتِ و این را آنک پروا مینگوند - حواحه حاط علیهِ الرَّحْمَه  
 اشاره بهمن بی نهایتیِ ادوارِ نموده گفته اسب \*

(۱) فوآن معدد، ۲۱ \* ۱۰۴ \* (۲) فوآن معدد، ۵۵ \* ۳۱ \* (۳) فوآن معدد، ۳ \* ۹۶ \*

اسب هر دو ابروی مہا ترس اسب، لب لوک کہ نالای حس لوک اسب  
 دیناسی مہا ترس اسب و لوک کہ نالای همه لوکھاسب کاسے سر مہا ترس  
 اسب اناب موحسد و کتاب اللہ ام الدہاج مہا ترس اسب ابرھای سدا کہ  
 بازار مہا برلی دارد موی سر مہا ترس اسب، و دیناب همه گولہا موی دین  
 مہا ترس اسب، لکیمی کہ دولک و حویعی عالم اسب تحس مہا ترس  
 اسب، آفتاب در حصال معالی دین مہا ترس اسب، بیوف اکس مہا ترس  
 دین مہا ترس اسب، جد اکس روح دین مہا ترس اسب، صورت هر فرد  
 انسان خانے مہا ترس اسب، انسان کامل حلوت خانہ و محلّ خاص مہا ترس  
 اسب، حدانکہ فرمود دناؤد علیہ السلام کہ ای داؤد برای من خانے بساز  
 گفت حداردا نو مہرھی از خانہ، فرمود خانے من نوئی دل را از عبد  
 حالی گس - و ہرچہ درین برہماد بر سیدل بفصل اسب در انسان کہ  
 دستکے عالم کندر اسب بطریق احوال همه موحود اسب، کسیکہ چندی داد  
 ر بدد اور اسب حقون مکک و در حق اوسب آنکہ کریمہ فرجس نما انہم  
 اللہ من فضلہ (۱) یعنی حوسحال اند آن حماعت نانکہ دادہ اسب انسان  
 ۱۰ حدای تعالیٰ از فصل خود \*

دوم — سرب مکک یعنی رسیدگاری همه و آن اسہلاک در دانسب و آن  
 ساہلی همه موحودات اسب و بعد از بنامب کبری و بنای آسمان و زمین  
 و ہیسب و درج ر نمودن برہماد و نمودن زور و سب از مہودت در داب  
 رسیدگ، و خلاص ناسد و آنکہ کریمہ و رضوان من اللہ اکبر دلیک ہو انور

الْعَظِيمُ (۱) وَاَلَا اِنَّ اَوْلَیَّاءَ اللّٰهِ لَا خَوْفٌ عَلَیْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ یَحْزَنُونَ (۲) یعنی بدرستی که عارفان خدا را بیست برسی و نترسند آنها اندوهگین اساره بهمن مُکب است \*

سوم — سرِدا مُکب یعنی رستگاری نس - سرِدا مُکب آن ناسد که در هر مرتبه که سرگشت حواله در روز حواله در شب حواله در عالم باطن حواله در عالم ظاهر حواله بر همانند نماید حواله نماند و حواله در ماضی حواله حال و حواله در مستقبل که نبود نهوسب بر همان گوندد عارف و رستگار و خلاص ناسد - و هرحا که در آتاپ فرآیی در باب بودن در حَتَبِ حَاجِئِیْنِ فِیْهَا اَنَدَا راع شده یعنی همدسه خواهد بود در آن بهسب مراد از حَتَبِ معروف است و مراد از نعط اندا اندَسَبِ اس مُکب است، چه در هر نساو که ناسد اسعدان معروف و عذابان ارلی درکار است، چنانچه اس دو آنکه کریمه در باب اندچینس جماعت وارد است نسیسهم (بهم) بِرَحْمَةِ رَبِّهِ وَ رِضْوَانٍ وَ حَبِیْبٍ لَهُمْ فِیْهَا نِعْمَ مُعْتَمِدٌ حَاجِئِیْنِ فِیْهَا اَنَدَا اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَزَّ وَ جَلَّ اَحَرَّ عَظِیْمٌ (۳) - یعنی مزده میدهد انسان را برزدگار ایشان برحمتی از خود و مزده میدهد فردوسی اعلی و بهسبها که مرانسان راسب در آن بهسبها نعمهای دائمی و رستگاری بی انقطاع از نزدیک حق تعالی بدرستی که مردسب بزرگ و بدر آنکه کریمه دیگر و نسیسهم المُرْمِیْنِ اَلَّذِیْنَ یَعْمَلُونَ الصَّالِحَاتِ اِنَّ لَهُمْ اَحْرًا حَسَنًا مَّا کُنْتَ فِیْهَا اَنَدَا (۴) - یعنی مزده میدهد (پیغمبر صلی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَ سَلَّمَ) مومنانرا که عمل میکنند نیک که حصول معروف حق سبحانه تعالی باشد و بدرستی که مر عارفانرا سب مردی نیکو که فردوسی اعلی ناسد و درنگ کمدگان ناسد و همدسه مانندگل اندران فردوسی اعلی \*

(۲) وُرْآن معبد ۴ ۱ ۶۲ \*

(۱) وُرْآن معبد ۹ ۷۲ \*

(۴) وُرْآن معبد ۱۸ ۳۰۲ \*

(۳) وُرْآن معبد ۹ ۲۱ \*



فصل است پسندِ راست و نخسین بعد از سوال که عطاس است پسندِ چپ  
 و مَها پُرس است ر اعدال که رحوگی و ستوگی و نموگی ناسند و آن را ترک  
 گویند دلِ مَها پُرس است، و حدانکه کبول سه رنگ دارد، سَعِد و سَرَح  
 و دَعَس، دل هم که بصورتِ کبول است سه صفت دارد، و آن از  
 سه رنگِ ظهور است، که دَرهَمَا و نَس و مَهِنَس ناسند دَرهَمَا که  
 مَن هم نام دارد حرکت و اراده دلِ مَها پُرس است، نَس رحم و مهر  
مَها پُرس است، مَهِنَس مهر و عَصَبِ مَها پُرس است - ماله دَنَسَم  
 و حوسکالی مَها پُرس است که حرارتِ الم و اندوه را برطرف میسازد ر سب  
 کماں مَها پُرس است کوه شَمَر دَرَف استخوانِ میانِ دستِ مَها پُرس است  
 ر کوه‌هایی دَسِبِ راست و حَمِ سَمَر استخوانِ برِخایِ بعلی دَسِبی‌های  
مَها پُرس است، و هَسب فرسده که گوبوال اند و اندر که سردارِ آنهاست  
 ر کمالِ قوت دارد و نخسیدن و ناردن و نه نخسیدن و ناردن ماعلی نارس  
 هر دو دَسِبِ مَها پُرس اند، دَسِبِ راست نخسین و نارس و دَسِبِ  
 چپ امساکِ نخسینِ مَها پُرس است - اَه کَهَرَا که حوزانِ بهسب اند  
 خطوطِ کف دَسِبِ مَها پُرس است و فرسدها که آن را چَهَه مَی نامند  
 ناحیه‌های دَسِبِ مَها پُرس است سه فرسده لُوک دالِ دَسِبِ راست  
مَها پُرس است، (از بعدِ دَسِبِ نا اِجِ اگی نام فرسده) و حَمِ فرسده ناردی مَها پُرس  
 است و لُوک دال فرسده دَسِبِ چپِ مَها پُرس است، کَدَرِ فرسده رانوی  
 نای مَها پُرس است و کَلَبِ رَجَه که طوبی ناسد عَصایِ مَها پُرس است،  
 وُطَبِ حدوبی کَفِ راست و وُطَبِ شمالی کَفِ چپِ مَها پُرس است

و ترن نام فرسند لوک نال که موکل آب اسب و در سمب معرف و بداند مهره  
گردن مها ترس اسب، انا هب که سلطان الادکار اسب آوار باریک مها ترس  
اسب - مهر لوک که بالایی سرگ لوک اسب گلو و گردن مها ترس اسب  
حس لوک که بالایی مهر لوک اسب روی مبارک مها ترس اسب، حم اھس  
عالم رنج مها ترس اسب - طمع که در عالم اسب لب پادش مها ترس اسب  
سرم و حنا لب بالایی مها ترس اسب، سنده نعلی محکب و القف نس  
دندانهای مها ترس اسب و حورس همه عالم حوراک مها ترس اسب،  
عصر آف کام و دهی مها ترس اسب، عصر آفس ربان مها ترس اسب،  
سرسنی قوت ناطقه مها ترس و حار آدد نعلی حار کتاب صدق و راستی گنار  
مها ترس اسب، مانا نعلی عشق که ناعب اتحاد عالم اسب حنده و حورس  
طبعی مها ترس اسب و هسب حبب عالم هر در گوس مها ترس اسب،  
اسدی کمار که در فرسند در کمال حس اند هر دو بڑا نعلی مها ترس اند،  
کندھے نس مائر نعلی عصر حاک قوت ساهه مها ترس اسب عصر باد  
نفس رن مها ترس اسب، مینا حس لوک و لب لوک که طدهه نس  
سسم اھس اسب و از نور داب بر اسب نصف حنونی آن جسم راسب  
نصف سمالی آن جسم حبب مها ترس اسب و اصل نور که آن را اصاب  
ارای گویند قوت بدائی مها ترس اسب - تمام آفر نس نگلا لطیف مها ترس  
اسب، زور و سب عالم جسم برهم رن مها ترس اسب مائر نام فرسند که  
موکل درسی و محکب اسب رنوسا نام فرسند که موکل مهر و عص

\* لب \*

جهان نکسر چه ارواح و چه اجسام \* بُود شخصی معنی عالمس نام  
 پس حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالَى را روح و جانِ این شخص معنی دادند که از هنج سر  
 موی جدا نیست حدیقه سیم سعد الدین حموی (۱) و مراد، \* رباعی \*  
 حق جانِ جهان است و جهان جمله بدن  
 ارواح و ملائک و حواس این همه بدن  
 اولاک و عناصر و موالید و اعضاء  
 بودند همین است و دیگر سوره و من  
 و همکنش موحدانِ هند مالِ ناس و عذرا تمام ارهماند را که عالمِ کنبر است  
 شخص واحد دانسته عسوهایی بدنِ ارا حنن بدن نموده اند بکپی آنکه  
 صوفی صافی در هر وقت ارهجه نظر کند بداند که در فلان عسوهها بُرس که  
 اندک عذاب از دابِ حق سُبْحَانَهُ تَعَالَى است نظر داریم بآنان که  
 طهغه هفتم رمن ناسد کفِ نایِ مها بُرس است، رسایل که طهغه سیم  
 رمن ناسد بسب نایِ مها بُرس است، و سباطین انگسهای نای  
 مها بُرس اند و جانورانِ سوارچی سلطان ناحیههای پایِ مها بُرس اند -  
 مهاندل که طهغه بیستم رمن است سالکِ مها بُرس است - دلایل که طهغه  
 چهارم رمن بُود ساقِ مها بُرس است سونل که طهغه سیوم رمن ناسد رانوی  
 مها بُرس است - نال که طهغه درم رمن است رانِ مها بُرس است آدل که  
 طهغه اول رمن است عسوه مخصوص مها بُرس است - کال، نایِ رمانه  
 زینارِ مها بُرس است ترخاند دنیا که ناعِ بوالد و بدسلِ تمام عالم

(۱) برای حالاتِ حضورِ سعد الدین حموی رجوع کنید ترجمه انگلیسی \*

اسب علامه مردنی و موب رحولب مهپا پُرس اسب - نازاں نطعه  
 مهپا پُرس اسب - تمولوک نعدی ار رمس نا آسماں پائند ناب مهپا پُرس  
 اسب - سه کوه حدوبی دسب راسب مهپا پُرس اسب و سه کوه شمالی  
 دسب حب مهپا پُرس اسب و سمندر پرب تتریس مهپا پُرس اسب -  
 روستی صبح کاد نار معری حامه مهپا پُرس اسب، روستی صبح صاب  
 رنگ سعید حامه چادر مهپا پُرس اسب (که اَلْکِیْبَاءُ رِدَائِیْ اساره ناں مکنند)  
 و موب سام که رنگ سعن دارد بازجه سار عوب مهپا پُرس اسب (که  
 الْعَظْمَةُ اِرَازِی کدانه ناں مکنند) سمندر نعدی نحر مخط حلقه و عمن ناب  
 مهپا پُرس اسب و بدوایل مکان آستسب که آب هعب درنا را حالا هم حدب  
 مکنند و طعنل سدس نمده و در فنامب کنری تمام آب را حسک حواهد  
 کرد و انس حرار و گرمی مده مهپا پُرس اسب، و درناهای دیگر رگهای  
 مهپا پُرس اسب، و حناکه همه رگها ناب مبرد همه درناها دسمندر مینهی  
 مگردن - گنگا و حمنا و سرسی سهرگ مهپا پُرس اسب - انکلا حمدان  
 نکلا حمونا سکهمنا سرسی تمولوک که بالایی تمولوک اسب و دندوبهای  
 گندهرب آنها میناسند و آوار از آنها بره مگرد سکم مهپا پُرس اسب -  
 آس فنامب صبری اسنهای حاصری مهپا پُرس اسب، و حسک سدس  
 آنها در فنامب صبری سنگی (و آب حورس) مهپا پُرس اسب سرگ  
 لوک که بالایی تمولوک اسب و طبعه انسب از طبعاب بهسب سنده  
 مهپا پُرس اسب که همسه سادی و حوسکالی و آرام دروسب - و حمع  
 سارهها از اسام حواهر مهپا پُرس اسب - نکسس نسب از سوال که حود و

رَ دَلِیْكَ تَعْدَ مَا تَمْسُكُونَ مِنْهَا أَحْمَانًا نَعْنِیْ مِیْ آندِ دَر دُورِحِ رَمَانِیْ  
 كه ناسد هتسكس ار دورحمان در آن بعد از آنكه مدب طویل در آن  
 مابده ناسد - و در آوردن اهلِ بهسب را از بهسب آن ناسد كه دس ار بر  
 طرف سدس آسمانها و رمندها اگر خدا خواهد انسان را در فردوسِ اعلیٰ در آرد  
 كه عطای او بی بهای است و بر ارس آند كرمه تاب سده و رِصَوَانُ  
 مِّنَ اللَّهِ أَكْثَرُ دَلِیْكَ هُوَ الْقَوْرُ الْعَظِيمُ<sup>(۱)</sup> نَعْنِیْ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى رَا بهسای است  
 بزرگتر از بهسای كه اهل هدد آن را نكندته گوید و انس بزرگترین سنگارنسب  
 بطور موحدان هدد \*

## ۱۹ — بیان فیاض

بطور موحدان هدد اندسب كه بعد از بودن در دورح و بهسب چون  
 مدنهایی طویل نگذرد مِیَا بُرْکِیْ سود كه عذاب از فداص كُدری است كه ار  
 آند كرمه فَإِذَا حَآوَبِ الطَّامَةِ الْكُدری<sup>(۲)</sup> نَعْنِیْ رمانكه بناد فداص كُدری  
 مفهوم مسود را ارس آند در معلوم مسود وَ نُفِیْمُ فِی الصُّورِ مَضَعُ مِّنْ فِی  
 السَّمُوبِ<sup>۱</sup> وَ مِّنْ فِی الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا مِّنْ سَاءَ اللَّهُ<sup>(۳)</sup> نَعْنِیْ رمانكه دمدده مسود مور  
 دس بهوس مسود هر كه در آسمانها و رمندها سب مگر سخصی را كه حواسد  
 ناشد حدای تعالی از بهوس سدس نگاه دارد و آن حماص عارفان ناسد كه  
 محفوظ اند از بهوسی و نكندری هم در دنیا و هم در آخرت - و بعد از بر طرف  
 سدس آسمانها و رمندها و فانی سدس دورحها و بهسبها و تمام سدس مدب شمیر  
 رهماند و نمودن رهماند اهلِ بهسب و دورح را مُكَبِّ حواهد سد نَعْنِیْ

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۹ + ۷۲ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۷۹ + ۳۴

(۳) انصاف ۳۹ + ۶۸

هر دو در حصص داب مستهلک و معکوسند - بموجب این آیه کُلُّ مَنْ عَلَمَهَا فَلَنْ يَنْفَعِيَ وَحْدَهُ رَبُّكَ ذُو الْحُلُلِ وَالْأَكْرَامِ (۱) \*

## ۲۰ — بیان مُکب

مُکب عذاب از اسهلاک و معکوس شدن نعمتات باشد در حصص داب که از آنکه کریمه وَ رِضْوَانٌ مِّنَ اللَّهِ أَكْثَرُ دَلِيلُ هُوَ الْعَوْرُ الْعَظِيمُ (۲) ظاهر میشود، و داخل شدن در رضوان اکثر که فردوسی اعلی است رستگاری برگ است که مُکب باشد و مُکب ترسه قسم است اول حصص مُکب دخی رستگاری در ردگالی و حصص مُکب درد اسال آنست که در اَنَام حجاب خود بدولت عزول و سانسائی حق تعالی رستگار و خلاص است و در همدن جهاں همه حشر را بی ندد ریکی داند و اعمال و افعال ر حرکات ر سکبات و تنگ و بد را بسند محدود و بعبر نکند و خود را ناحد جمع استیای موجوده عین حق شناسد و در همه مراتب حق را حلوه گر داند و تمام برهماند یا که صوفیای گرام این را عالم کبری گفته اند و صورت کلیب حداسبت نموده بدن جسمانی خدا گرداند - عنصر اعظم که مہا اکاس باشد نموده سوحتم سر ر یعنی بدن لطیف خدا و داب خدا نموده روح آن بدن، و آن را یک شخص معنی دانسته اند و با نیکو با عوالم طاهر و ناطق سوای داب آن دگانه بی همنا ندد و بداند چنانکه یک انسان که او را عالم صغیر گفته اند ناحالاف عوالمی مختلفه متکافه یک فرد است و یکرب اعصاب داب او معدد ندد، آن داب واحد را ندر یکرب نعمتات معدد شناسد،

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۵۵، ۲۶، ۲۷ \* (۲) قرآن مجید، ۹، ۷۲

رمیدی کوهی را محبط میدادند و نام کوه ها افسس، اول سمیرو درم سمویس  
 سدوم همکوب چهارم همون پنجم مکه ده سسم پارخانر هفتم کنلس حدانچه در  
 آنه کریمه والکمال آوند (۱) رافع اسب نعلی (گرداندم) کوه ها را  
 مکه های رهن - و برگرد هر بی از آن هفت کوه هفت دریا اند که محبط  
 هر کوه اند و آن را سپ سمندر میگویند و نام های این هفت دریا این اند  
 اول لور سمندر نعلی دریای سرور، درم آنکه رس سمندر نعلی دریای آب  
 ندر، سدوم سرا سمندر نعلی دریای سرب، چهارم گهر سمندر نعلی دریای  
 روعن رن، پنجم دله سمندر نعلی دریای حمراب، سسم گهر سمندر نعلی  
 دریای سدر، هفتم سواد حل نعلی دریای آب رلال و نود دریا عدد  
 هفت این آنه معلوم مسمود و کوان م فی الارض من سحره اقلام و الذکر  
 مدله من نعد سعه انحر م یعدت کلم الله (۲) نعلی ددر سنده از درخان  
 که در رمی اند فلما سود و آن هفت دریا ها سیاهی سود نام نمسود  
 کلمات خدا نعلی مقدراب خدا و در هر رمیدی و کوهی و دریای افسام  
 مکلوبات هستند و رمی و کوه و دریا که فوق همه رمیها و کوه ها و دریا ها  
 اسب بطور محقق هفت آن را سرگ خوانند که بهسب و حب ناسد و رهن  
 و دریا که حب همه رمیها و کوه ها و دریا ها سب آن را ترک گویند که عبار  
 از دورج اسب و جهنم - و نعلی موحدان هفت اسب که بهسب و دورج  
 از همین عالم که آن را بر هفاند گویند خارج دسب، و این هفت آسمان را که  
 مقر این هفت سازه اند میگویند که برگرد بهسب میگویند نه بر بالای  
 بهسب و سعب بهسب را می آکس میدادند که عرس ناسد و رمی بهسب  
 را گرسی \*

(۲) قرآن مجید، ۳۱، ۲۷ +

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۷۸، ۷ \*

## ۱۸ — بیان عالم نورخ

بسم الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَرْمُودَةٌ مِنْ مَاتَ نَعْدَ قَامَ فِدَامَهُ نَعْدِي  
 سَحَصَكِهِ مَرْدِ بَسْ نَحَقِیْ كِه فَاثِمِ سَدِ فَنَامِیْ اَوْ وَ نَعْدِ اَرِ مَرُوبِ اَنَمَا كِه  
 رُوحِ نَاشِدِ اَرِ نَدِیْ عِلَصَرِیْ مَعَارُوفِ مَرْمُودَةِ نَبِیْ بَحَلِّیْ رَمَایِ نَدِیْ مَكَبِ كِه  
 اَنِ رَا شَوْحَمِ سَرَرِ گَوِیْدِ دَرِ مِیْ اَنَدِ وَ اَنِ نَدِیْ لَطِیْفِ اَسَبِ كِه اَرِ عَمَلِ مَرُوبِ  
 گِرَفِیْدِ نَاسِدِ عَمَلِ نَدِیْ رَا مَرُوبِ نَدِیْ وَ عَمَلِ نَدِیْ رَا مَرُوبِ نَدِیْ - وَ نَعْدِ اَرِ سَوَالِ  
 وَ حَوَالِ نَبِیْ دَرِ لَدِیْ وَ نَبِیْ دُوقِ اَهْلِ بَهَسِ رَا نِهْ بَهَسِ وَ اَهْلِ دُورِجِ رَا  
 دُورِجِ مَنَدَرِدِ، مَوَاقِ اَنِ اَنَدِ كَرِیْمِهْ فَاثِمَا اَلَدِیْ سَعُوَا وَ قَعِیْ اَلَدِیْ لَهْمِ وَ نَبِیْ  
 رَفِیْرِ وَ سَعِدِیْ حَلِیْدِیْ وَ نَبِیْ مَا دَا مَبِ السَّمُوفِ وَ اَلْاَرْضِ اَلَّا مَا سَاَ رَنَلَكِ اَنِ  
 رَنَلَكِ فَعَالِ لَمَّا نَرِیْدُ وَ اَمَّا اَلَدِیْ سَعِدُوا وَ قَعِیْ اَلْحَكَّةِ حَلِیْدِیْ وَ نَبِیْ مَا دَا مَبِ  
 السَّمُوفِ وَ اَلْاَرْضِ اَلَّا مَا سَاَ رَنَلَكِ عَطَاَ عَنَرِ مَحَدُورِ (۱) نَعْدِیْ اَنَا كِه نَدِ  
 نَحَبِ سَدِهْ اَنَدِ دَرِ اَنَسِ اَنَدِ مَرِ اَنَسِیْ رَا دَرِ اَنَسِ فَرَا دِ وَ نَالِهْ وَ رَا رِیْ حَاوَدِیْ  
 نَاسِدِ دَرِ اَنِ اَنَسِ نَا هَنَكَا مَكِهْ اَسْمَانِیْ وَ رَمَدِیْ سَبِ مَكِرِ اَنَكِهْ حَوَاهِدِ بَرُورْدِگَارِ  
 نَو - نَدِرِ سَنَكِهْ بَرُورْدِگَارِ نَو كَدِیْدِهْ اَسَبِ هَرِ حَبَرِیْ رَا كِه حَوَاهِدِ وَ اَنَا كِه نَدِیْ  
 نَحَبِ دَرِ بَهَسِ اَنَدِ هَمِیْسِهْ نَا هَنَكَا مَكِهْ نَاسِدِ اَسْمَانِیْ وَ رَمَدِیْ مَكِرِ نَا وَ نَبِیْ  
 حَوَاهِدِ بَرُورْدِگَارِ نَو كِه اَنَیْ رَا اَرِ اَنَكَا دَرِ اَرِ وَ نَحَسِیْ اَوْ نَبِیْ دِهَانِیْ اَسَبِ  
 نَرِ اَوَرْدِیْ اَرِ دُورِجِ اَنِ نَاسِدِ كِه نَدِیْ اَرِ بَرُطُوفِ سَدِیْ اَسْمَانِیْ وَ رَمَدِیْ اَكِرِ  
 حَوَاهِدِ اَرِ دُورِجِ نَرِ اَوَرْدِهْ نِهْ بَهَسِ نَرِ وَ اَنِ مَسْعُودِ (۲) رَضِیْ اللهُ عَنْهُ  
 دَرِ تَفْسِیْرِ اَنِ اَنَدِ مَرْمُودَةِ كِه لَا اَبْنَیْ عَلَیْ حَقِیْمِ رَمَانِ لَدِیْ فِدَا اَحَدِ

(۱) مَرَاكِبِ مَعْبُدِ ۱۱ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱

(۲) نَبِیْ اَحَالَتِ حَضَرِ اَنِ مَسْعُودِ رَحُوعِ كُنَدِ تَفْرِیْحَةُ اَنگِلِیْسِ ۲



حون پدر من سید محی الدین عبدالعزیز حیدرانی و ابو محمد المعری و سید  
 محی الدین ابن العری و سید نعم الدین کزری و سید فرید الدین عطا  
 و مولانا حلال الدین رومی - و در زمان دیگر حون حواحه معین الدین جسی  
 و حواحه بهاء الدین نقسند و حواحه احرار و مولانا - مد الرحمن حامی و در  
 زمان دیگر حون سید من حیدر دانی ساه مهر و آساک من میدان داری و مرشد  
 من ملا ساه و ساه محمد دانا و سید طیب سرهدنی و ناوا لال نیراگی \*

### ۱۳ - بیان سوهمانند

مراد از سوهمانند "کُل" و نقاد طهور حصر و حود است بصورت کُرّه  
 مدور و حون او را سید طرف میل و علوی نسبت و نسبت او با همه برادر  
 است و همه نادانست و ندانست در میان این است لهذا موحّدان همدان را  
 سوهمانند گویند \*

### ۱۴ - بیان جهات

موحّدان اسلام هر یک از مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب و فوق و تحت  
 را جهتی اعمار نموده پس جهت گفته اند و موحّدان همدان جهات را ده  
 میگویند یعنی مشرق و مغرب و شمال و جنوب را در جهتی اعمار  
 نموده ده دسای می نامند \*

### ۱۵ - بیان آسمانها

آسمانها که آن را لکن میگویند بطور اهل همدان هفت است، هفت از آن معتبر  
 هفت کواکب ستاره است که رحل و مستری و مزیم و سمس و زهره و عطارد

و قمر ناسد و نربان اهل هدد اس هعب ساراه را هعب لکچدر بعدی سد  
و نرسپ و هکگل و سورج و سکر و نده و حدراس هاس هگوند و آسمانی  
حمدع نواب در آن اند آن را هسسم همدادد و همن آسمان را حکما فلک ه  
و فلک نواب هگوند که نربان اهل شرع کُرسی اسب و سَع کُ  
السمو<sup>۱۱</sup> و الارض<sup>۱۲</sup> (۱) بعدی آسمانها و رمندها در کُرسی هگند و نهم که آر  
مها اکس هگوند داخل آسمانها کرده اند حبب آنکه آن هعط همه اس  
و کُرسی و آسمانها و رمندها را احاطه کرده اس \*

## ۱۶ — بیان زمین

رمن نرد اهل هدد هعب طده اسب که آن را سپ نال هگوا  
و هر طده اسب یک نام دارد، آنل نال سونل نلال مهائل اسائل و نال  
بطور اهل اسلام ندر رمن هعب اسب موحب آنه کریمه الله الدی ح  
سبع سمو<sup>۱۱</sup> و من الارض<sup>۱۲</sup> هلم<sup>۱۳</sup> (۲) بعدی الله تعالی آن حدانست که ح  
گردانید هعب آسمانها را و از رمن هم مانند آن آسمانها \*

## ۱۷ — بیان قسمت زمین

رُبع مسکون را حکما هعب طده هسمب کرده اند و هعب افلم هگوا  
و اهل هدد آن را سب دس می نامند و اس هعب طده رمن را نرد  
رمن هم مدل بوسب ندر نمندادند بلکه نمران مدل پانه هلی نردنل ن  
هگند - و هعب کوه را که اهل هدد آنها را سب کلاحل گوند نر گرد

(۱) قرآن معند، ۲، ۲۵۵ \* (۲) قرآن معند، ۶۵، ۱۲ +

حوازه آوار مرگت از حروف کلمه دنگر آنکه فرشته را دنده ناسد با آوار فرشته را سنده ناسد - و دتوت و ولایت نرسه قسم است، یکی دتوت و ولایت نرتهی، دوم دتوت و ولایت سندهی، سوم دتوت و ولایت جامع الدنده والندرهه - اول دتوت نرتهی، چون دتوت حصرت نوح علیه السلام که خدا را ندیده دتوت و دعوت کرد و اُتت بکعب ندره انما نبارک هک فلیلی و همه در بکبر و ما عرق شدند چون راهدان رمای ما که ندره خدا مریدانرا خواندند و همدکس اراں مر داس عارف نسود و از قول آنها بعضی ندرت و د را سلوک و طریقه و ما و هلاک کردند و نکدا نرسد -

دوم دتوت سندهی چون دتوت موسی است علیه السلام که خود خدا را در آنس درج دتوت و از اتر سکت حق سدید و اکبر اُتت از تعلیم موسی در سته آفاده گوساله نرسد سدید و عصا ورزدند و امروز بعضی از مقادان رماں ما آنکه محض تعلیم کاه لاس پسته کرده اند و برن رنگانی کدند از ندره دور آفاده در سته فر رفاند و دندین صورتهای خوف و رعوت در لهور لعب گرفتار اند و نروخی انسان نساد

\* نظم \*

هر صورت دلکس که برا روی نمود  
خواهد فلک از جسم بواس رود نمود  
زو دال نکسی ده که در اطوار وجود  
نود است و همدسه با سو خواهد نمود

سوم دتوت جامع الندره و الدنده، یعنی جمع کدند ندره و سنده و آن دتوت محمد نسب صلی الله علیه و سلم که مطلق و مقید رنگ و ندرگ و ندرگ و دور را نکجا کرده، ر اساره ناس مرده است نرس آنکه ندره

که آنس کَمِیلَه سَعِیْ وَهُوَ السَّمِیعُ النَّصِیرُ<sup>(۱)</sup> یعنی نسبت منیل آو خبری  
 ر این اساره نمرینه ندره اسب و سنبوی و ندعی اساره نه نسنده نوک و این  
 مرنده نلند نرس و اعلی نرس مرنده حاه عتب و حاتم اسب که مخصص  
 دباب آنسرور صلمع اسب، پس رسول ما همه عالم را از سون نا عرب فرو گویه  
 و ندوت ندرنهی مکروم اسب از ندوت نسندهی و ندوت نسندهی عاردهی از  
 ندوت ندرنهی، و ندوت حامع سامیل ندرنهی و نسنده اسب چون هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ  
 الْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ<sup>(۲)</sup> - همکنس ولایت مخصص اسب نکاهلن این  
 آسب که حق تعالی در وصف انسان فرموده کَلِمَاتٍ خَيْرٌ أَمَّ أَنْ أُخْرِجَتْ  
 لِلنَّاسِ<sup>(۳)</sup> یعنی بهارس آسبال اساندد که جمع کدندله نسنده و ندره اند  
 حدانکه در رمالی ندمعبر ما صَلَّی اللَّهُ عَلَیْهِ وَسَلَّمَ از اولیا<sup>(۴)</sup> انونکر و عمر و عثمان  
 و علی و حسن و حسین و سید اقصیه و عسک و نسیره و اکبر مباحر و انصار و اهل  
 صوفیه بودند و از آنکمله در نابعن حون آرئس نرنی و ندره و در رمالی ندرنکر  
 چون ذوالنون مصری و فضل عناص و معروف کرجی و ابراهیم ادهم و نسر  
 حابی و سری السطی و نلرند نسطاهی و اسناد انوالقاسم حدندی و سبل  
 نر عدد الله الاسری و انو سعد حرار و انوم و انوالحسن النوری و ابراهیم  
 حواص، و انونکر سنبلی و انونکر واسطی و امبال انسان - و در رمالی ندرنکر چون  
 انوسعد انوالکدر و سنج الاسلام حواحه عددالله انصاری و سنج احمد حام  
 و محمد معسوق طوسی و احمد عراقی و انوالقاسم گرگانی - و در رمالی ندرنکر

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۲، ۱۱ (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷، ۳ \*

(۳) قرآن مجید، ۳، ۱۹ +

(۴) برای ترجمه احوال این اولیای کامل رجوع کنید به ترجمه انگلیسی +

دیک اسب - دندس حدای تعالیٰ پنج قسم اسب - قسم اول، در حواب  
 بحکم دل، دوم دندس در بنداری بحکم سر، سوم، در میان بنداری و حواب  
 که آن بنکودنی خاص اسب، چهارم در یک دعش خاص بنکم دندس یک  
 داب واحد اسب در کدراب بعداب عوالم طاهر و باطن، و اس چیس دند حصر  
 رسول صلعم در وندکه حود دند در میان و رائی و مرئی یکی بود، و حواب  
 و بنداری و بنکودنی آو یکی می نمود و جسم طاهر و باطن آو یکی شده  
 بود، مرید کمال روبر اندس و اس را دنیا و آخرت درکار دسب و همه حا  
 و همه رقب مدسّر اسب (۱) \*

## ۱۱ — بیان اسمای الله تعالیٰ

دداکه اسمای الله تعالیٰ بی نهاس اسب و ار حدّ حصر دندس - داب  
 « طلق و دیک و صوف و عب العنب و حصر واحب الوجود را دربار

(۱) داراسکوة در مسکنه الاولیا (ار صفحہ ۶ تا صفحہ ۶۶) مسئلہ رقب را بالتفصیل  
 در دیک آورده، و اسناد بسیاری باین ادعای خودس درج کرده که نقل همه آنها ناعب  
 بطویل شود، بس برهمین اخصار اکتفا نموده شد -

یکی از اصحاب کنار من گفته که روزی حصر میان حو را پرسیدم که در نهاده  
 حرری، مذکور اسب روزی اس سقوی نه انا در عقاری گفت که اگر رسول الله را دندمی  
 آو پرسیدمی که خدا را دندی ناده، انا در عقاری گفت که من ار آنکصر صلعم  
 پرسیدم گفت نورانی آرا یعنی ار نورسب هدیگونه ممکن دسب که او را ندیم، نوشیده  
 ماند که در منار بالا بنکدس خطی واقع شده یعنی «نورانی آرا»، یعنی نورسب که  
 می ندیم او را -

حصر میان حو داراسکوة فرمود که اگر معنی اول گنیم اشاره بوجود صرف  
 داب حق باشد و حسن رقب برای اندنا هم محال باشد، لکن اگر معنی دوم را اختیار  
 دیم مراد اسب باشد که رقب او در رقب نرقل نرقل نرقل، و لباس بوسی ممکن اسب

معرای همد اس و بیگی و بریکار و بریکس و سب و حب گویند - اگر علم را نادر  
دست دهد که اهل اسلام او را علم میگویند معرای همد آن را  
حان نامند و اسم الحق را ائب گویند، مادر را سمریبه و سمیع را  
سربا و نصر را درستیا خوانند، و اگر کلام را نآن داب مطلق نسبت دهد  
و کذا نامند و الله را اوم و هو را سه و فرسند را برنای ادسای دنونا گویند،  
و مطهر اسم را آونار نامند، و آونار آن باشد که قدرت الهی آنچه درو ظاهر  
شود و از وجود او بنظر آید در هیچ یکی از افراد نوع او در آن وقت ظاهر  
نشود، و وحی را که بر پیغمبر نازل شود آکس نامند و آکس نامی  
نکته آن گویند که پیغمبر صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فرموده که صعب ترین  
اویات برای وحی است که مستقیم وحی را مانند آوار حرس نامند،  
آوار رندوز، و چون این آوار از آکس ظاهر نشود آکس نامی میگویند - و کتب  
آسمانی را نند گویند، و حوین حنن را که برای ناسند انکرا گویند و  
دای آنها را که دبو و سناطس اند راجس گویند و آدمی را مکبه، ولی  
را رگهی و ندی را هاسده نامند \*

## ۱۲ — بیان نبوت و ولایت

اندک تر سه قسم اند، یکی آنکه خدا را ندیده باشند بحکم، حواله بحکم  
ظاهر حواله بحکم باطن دیگر آنکه آوار خدا سندها باشند حواله آوار صوب،

و سافرانده مصروف حواله خود را در باب مسئله روتت بوصاحت امام درس رباعی  
بدان نموده (سکینه الاولیا صفحه ۶۱) +

آنکه خدا در آن زمان می بیند + اول تو بدان درس چهارم می بیند  
ندارد خدا درس و آن نکات است + هر لحظه بطاهر و بهال می بیند

## ۱۰ — بیانِ رُوبِ

روبیِ حدایِ تعالی را موحّدان همد ساچمات کار گویند یعنی دند  
 خدا بحکم سر - ندانکه در دندِ حدایِ تعالی در دنیا و آخرت بحکم  
 طاهر و باطن هیچ یکی از ادباء علیه السلام و اولیای کامل قدس الله  
 سره سبکی و سببی نیست و جمیع اهل کدات و کاملان و بدایان هر  
 ملّ داس معنی امان دارند، چه اهل قرآن و چه اهل دند و چه اهل  
 نورب و انکدل و نور - و از نامهندگان و نامدایان ملّ خود بود هر  
 که انکار رُوب نماد، چه دابِ مقدسی که بر همه چدر قادر باشد بر نمودن  
 خود هم چرا مدرب نداسد و انس مسئله را علمای سب و انجماع  
 خوب بی پوده گفته اند - اما اگر دابِ نخب را گفته اند که توان دند انس  
 مکال اسب چه دابِ نخب لطیف و بی نعتن اسب و ماعتن نگردد و در  
 بردن لطافت حاوگر بسود نس توان دند و چدن رُوب مکال ناسد -  
 و آنکه گفته اند که در آخرت توان دند و در دنیا توان دند اصلی ندارد  
 زیرا که هرگاه کمال مدرت درو هسب هر طور و هر حا و هرگاه که حواهد قادر بر  
 نمودن خود اسب و هرکه اندکا دند مشکل اسب که تواند در آندکا دند،  
 چنانچه خود در آند کریمه فرموده و مَنْ کَانَ فِی هَذِهِ اَعْمٰی هُوَ فِی الْاٰخِرَةِ  
 اَعْمٰی (۱)، یعنی هر که درین دنیا از دولب دندار من محروم اسب در  
 آخرت نیز محروم حواهد ماند از نعمِ جمالِ من و مکرانِ رُوب که  
 حکمای معرله و ساعه ناسد درن مسئله خطای عظیم کرده اند، چرا که اگر  
 منگیدند که دند دابِ نخب ممکن نیست بهر حال صورتی داشت و چون

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۷۵، ۲۲، (۲) قرآن مجید، ۶، ۴۱



اندویش فکر کن که چه گفتم که حای فراسب و فکراسب و رسول خدا صَلَّی اللّٰهُ  
 عَلَیْهِ وَاٰلِهٖ وَسَلَّمَ در تعریف این فکر فرموده نَعْتَرُ سَاعَةً حَتّٰی مِنْ عِدَادَةِ سِنَةٍ،  
 یعنی این فکریست که ساعتی درین فکر بودن دهنر از عمل آدمی و پریست  
 و دوریکه از آنکه کریمه اللّٰهُ نَوْرَ السَّمَوٰتِ وَاَلْاَرْضِ، یعنی اللّٰهُ تعالیٰ دور آسمانها  
 و زمینها است مفهوم میگردان آن را قرائی هدد حوس سروب و سوا ترکس  
 و سبن ترکس گویند، یعنی این دور همدسه خود بخود روشن است حواله در  
 عالم نماید حواله نماید چنانکه صوفیه نور را دَمَوْرٌ بقدر میگردانند و انسل  
 (اهل هدد) در دَمَوْرٌ بقدر کرده اند - و برحقه این آنکه کریمه که اللّٰهُ نَوْرُ  
 السَّمَوٰتِ وَاَلْاَرْضِ حدس است که اللّٰهُ تعالیٰ دور آسمانها و زمینها است،  
 (مَثَلُ نُوْرٍ كَمَسْكُوَةٍ فِيْهَا مِصْبَاحٌ) و مَثَلِ نُوْرٍ اَوْ مَانِدِدِ طَائِفَةٍ اِسْبَ که دران  
 مصباح ناسد، (اَلْمِصْبَاحُ فِيْ رُحَاةٍ) و آن چراغ در سینه بود، (اَلرُّحَاةُ  
 كَأَنَّهُا كَوْكَبٌ دَرِيٌّ) و سینه گونا که ساراف در حسدده است که، (بُودَ مِنْ  
 سَكْرَةٍ مَدْرَكَةٍ رَدَوْنَةٍ لَّاسْرِفَةٍ وَاَلَا عَرِيفَةٍ) افروخته شده است از درحب مبارک  
 ربنون که نه سرفی است و نه عربی، و (تَكَادُ رَدْنَهَا نَصْلِيٌّ وَلَوْ لَمَرَّ نَهْمَسَةُ نَارٍ)  
 نزدیک است که روع آن ربنون مبارک روسمی بخشد نا آنکه آنس بار  
 برسدده ناسد و (نُوْرٌ عَلٰی نُوْرٍ) نورست در نور، (تَهْدِي اللّٰهُ لِنُوْرِهِ  
 مَنْ يَّشَآءُ (۱)) و راه میماید اللّٰهُ تعالیٰ بدور خود هرکرا که میخواهد -  
 امّا آنکه که قدر فهمیده این ناسد که مراد از مَسْكُوَةٍ که طاق ناسد عالم  
 احسام است و مراد از مصباح که چراغ ناسد نور داب است و مراد

از سینه روح است که مانند سنبل درجسده است که از روستی  
 آن چراغ است سینه هم مانند چراغ می نماید، و "امروخته سده است  
 آن چراغ" عبارت از نور وجود است و از "سحره مبارک" داب حق <sup>سکانه</sup>  
 تعالی مراد است که مثله است از حجاب سرخی و عربی و مراد  
 از "رب" روح اعظم است که نه ارلی و نه اندی است، یعنی آن رب  
 از جانب لطافت و صفا خود بخود روس و نال است و محتاج نابروختن  
 نیست، چنانچه اسناد انونکر واسطی (۱) علیه الرحمه در تعریف روح مفرماید که  
 راحه روح نمرینه روس است که محتاج لمس ناز ناسوب و شعاع نیست  
 و از جانب استعداد دانی دردنک است که خود بخود روس شود و از  
 دور رب "نور علی نور" است یعنی از بهای صفا و روستی نور نیست  
 بر نور، و نالی روستائی نمی ندد کسی او را تا او خود هدایت دند نور رحد  
 خود پس مراد از مجموعه است آنکه کریمه است که حق <sup>سکانه</sup> تعالی  
 نور داب خود در پرده های لطیف و نورانی ظاهر است و هیچ ظلمتی  
 و حجابی در میان نیست و نور داب در پرده روح الارواح ظاهر است و روح  
 الارواح در پرده ارواح و ارواح در پرده احسام همکین "چراغ" نال  
 دور رب در پرده سینه نال و ظاهر است و "سینه" در پرده طافه  
 و اندکسای نور از نور داب میگذرد لهذا روستی بر روستی افزوده \*

(۱) محمد بن موسی المعروف بانونکر الواسطی از اصحاب حضرت حید و حضرت  
 ابوالحسن نوری بودند، ولادتشان قبل از عسرس و ثلثمائه در شهر مرو بوموع آمد -  
 شیخ الاسلام می فرماید که ایشان امام بوحد بودند - برای تفصیل رجوع کنند به نقاب  
 الانس صفحه ۱۷۱ و تذکره الاولیا (مرتبه ذاکتر بکلس) صفحه ۲۶۵ تا صفحه ۲۸۱ \*

صَوِّفْ آن بود که ساعی بسبیلی بی دمار - <sup>(۱)</sup> سنج اسلام گفت که بی دمار  
 چه بود - فرمود که نایب بی خشن و دندار بی نگرستی، چه ندیده در  
 دندار عِلِّب اسب، بس ساعی بی دمار بسبیلی همین اسب که نفوس  
 عالم داسوف و مَلَكُوف در آن ساعی بحاطر نگذرند و بدر آنکه مولانای روم  
 قدس الله سره فرموده اساره بهمن معنی اسب —

خواهی که بدانی یک لحظه محسوس  
 خواهی که بدانی یک لحظه مدانیس  
 حوس در بهانس حوئی دوزی ر آسکارس  
 حوس آسکار حوئی محسوسی ار بهانس  
 چون ر آسکار و بهان بدروس سوی نرها  
 ناها درار میکی حوس حسب در امانس

و درنا موافق اسب بلاهوت که دابِ معص ناسد و مُحِط  
 و شامل و جامع و عی انس هر سه عالم اگر سیر انسان ار دایوت  
 مَلَكُوف و ار مَلَكُوف بَخَرُوف و ار حَدُوف بلاهوت ناسد انس برقی اررسب  
 و اگر حصرب حقیق الکفعلی که موحدان هدد آن را اَوَسَّ گویند

منسود که داراشکوه انس قول حصرب حدد را حلی دوسب میدامد چه او در سه  
 ار بصنفاق حوس، یعنی رساله حق نما (مفقه ۲۱ نسخه مطبوعه بولکسور) حساب  
 العارفین (وزن ۸ ب، نسخه علمی موجوده بوشار لائبریری) و سکینه الاولیا (مفقه ۴۶  
 ترجمه اردو، مطبوعه لاهور) درج نموده است.

(۱) مراد از سنج اسلام، ابو اسمعیل عبد الله بن محمد الانصاری الهروسی که  
 بنابر ۲ شعبان سنه ۳۹۶ هـ (مطابق سنه ۶ اع) پیدا شدند، انسان مولف چند رسائل  
 اند، لکن شهرت انسان مدنی بر مصاحف اسب که حلی معتدل اسب - و انشال در  
 معامع تذکرو موعظت بر طریقت و علم و حال و سیرت صوفیای کرام اصلا می فرمودند

ار مَرِنْدَه لاهوت برول فرماند و ار حَرَوُف و مَلَكُوت نگردند سِرِ اَو مَدَهی دِعالَم  
 نَسُوت مَدَسود، و اندکّه صوفیه مرانِبِ برول را بعضی چهار بعضی پنج  
 قرار داده اند اشاره باین معنی است \*

## ۸ — بیان آواز

آوار از هَمَل نَعْسِ الرَّحْمٰنِ است که نَوَفِ اِشکاک بِلَعَطِ "کُی" ظاهر  
 شد، (۱) آن آوار را وقرای هَدَدِ سِرْسَنی گویند، و جمیع آوارها و صَوَها و صداها  
 اِراَن آوار پیدا گشته \*

هر کجا بسطری حور نغمه آوَس

که سَمَدِ اِنِ چندن صدای دِزار

و اِنِ آوار که داد باشد بُرد موحّداں هَدَدِ بَرَسَه و سَم است، اَوَّل اَناهِب  
 یعنی آوارنکه هَمَسَه بُود و هَسَب و حواهد بُود و صوفیه اِنِ آوار را آوارِ مُطْلَق  
 و سَلْطٰنِ اَلادْکار گویند که و دَنَم است و اِحساس مَها اَکَلَس اِراَن است، و اِنِ  
 آوار را در نماند مگر اَکَلِ هَر دَر موم - دَوِیم اَهَب یعنی آوارنکه اِر دِنِ

که آن را در هند کتاب آورده "طبقات عند الله انصاری" نامیدند، و نَسْعَه حَطَقِ آن که  
 رَس نادر الوحد است در کتاب حائِه اِنْسائِک سِرْسائِکِی بنگاله موحود است ( رجوع کنید  
 به فهرست معطوطات فارسی کتب حائِه اِنْسائِک سِرْسائِکِی، صفحه ۷۸ تا صفحه ۸۳ ) -  
 مولانا حامی کتب مَنعابِ اَلانِس را ( چنانکه خود در دیباچه می نگارد ) بسطری  
 ر طبقات سنج الاسلام احد کرده - وفات شیخ الاسلام در سنه ۴۸۱ هـ ( مطابق  
 سنه ۸۸ ع ) واقع شده \*

(۱) اِنِ عالم مَحْصِ اَزادَه حوِیِ عَالی که بِلَعَطِ "کُی"، ظاهر شد بوحود آمد؛  
 عَناَنکه حوِیِ عَالی مَنگُودِ تَدْبِیعِ السَّمَوِیِّ وَ الْأَرْضِ وَ اَدَا قِصَی اَمْرًا فَاِنما نَقول لَه کُی  
 نَکُون ( فوراً مَحْصِد، ۲ - ۱۱۷ ) \*

که برهما و نِس و مهندس ناسند و اِنِس نردنوی اِنِس سه جبر برآید که آن را  
سرسنی نارنی و لجهمی میگویند، سرسنی نه رحوگن و برهما نعلو دارد،  
و پاریدی نه نموگن و مهندس، و لجهمی نه سب گن و نِس \*

## ۵ — بیان روح

روح در قسم اِسب، نکی روح و دنگر انوالارواج که نربان فرای هند اِن  
در روح را آتما و پرم آتما گویند - ( حون ) داب نکب منعن و معد گرد حه  
لطاف و چه نکداف نکب مکرو بودن در مرید لطاف اورا روح  
و آتما گویند و در مرید کداف حسد و سربر گویند و دابی که منعن نارل  
گسب روح اعظم ناسد که با داب مجمع الصفا مرید احدب دارد و دابی  
که حمع ارواج در آن مدرج اند آن را پرم آتما و انوالارواج گویند - میل  
آب و موج آب نمدر دن و روح و سربر و آتما اِسب، و مجموعه  
امواج ارووی کلن انوالارواج و پرم آتما ماد و آب صرف نمدر حصر  
رحود و شده و حس اِسب \*

## ۶ — بیان نادهها

نادی که در دن انسان حرک منکند چون در پنج موضع میدانند پنج  
نام دارد، نران آپان سمان اودان و نران - پران حرک آن ار ندی اِسب  
نا ناگسپ نا، و دم ردن حاصد اِن ناد اِسب آپان، حرک اِن ار  
نسسنگالا اِسب نا به عصر مخصوص و اِن ناد گرد ناف هم حلقه رده اِسب

و باعثِ حجابِ همان است <sup>۳</sup>سمان در سینه و ناف حرکت میکنند - اودان<sup>۴</sup>،  
حرکت این ار حلق است با آم الذمّاع و وِثان<sup>۵</sup> که طاهر و باطن این داد  
در است \*

## ۷ — بیانِ عوالمِ اربعه

عوالم که جمیع مخلوقات را باچار گذر بر آنست بطورِ بعضی از صوفیه  
چهار اند، ناسوت و ملکوت و خُزروت و لاهُوت و بعضی پنج میگویند و عالمِ مثال  
را داخل میکنند، و جمعی که عالمِ مثال را با عالمِ ملکوت یکی می انگارند  
چهار میگویند، و بقولِ فقرای همد آوسنهات که عبارت این عوالم اربعه ناست  
چهار اند، خاگرت و سَپَن و سَکُوت و سَپَن - خاگرت مناسب است  
بناسوت که عالمِ طاهر و عالمِ نبداری ناست، سَپَن موافق است بملکوت که  
عالمِ ارواح و عالمِ خوات ناست، سَکُوت موافق است بخزروت که در آن نفوس  
هر دو عالم و ضمیر "من" و "تو" ناست حواله جسم و کرده بدنی حواله  
نوسیده، و نسازی از فقرای هر دو قوم ترین عالم مطلع نیستند، چنانکه سعد  
الطایفه اُسَید انوالقاسم حُدد بعدادی (۱) فِدِسَ اللّهُ سُرّة حُرّ دادلا که فرموده

(۱) انوالقاسم بن محمد بن الحُدد الحُرّار القواریری که از صوفیان بزرگ بغداد بودند  
نوادِرِ رادله سَری السقَطی و ساگردِ امامِ شافعی رح بودند، و در بغداد در سنه ۲۹۷ ه  
(مطابق سنه ۹۱ ع) فوت شدند، برای تفصیل رجوع کنند به نقعاب الانس صفحه ۸۱  
و تذکرة الاولیا (مرتبه ذاکترِ نکّسن) جلد دوم صفحه ۵ تا ۳۶ \*

قول بالا که بنامِ حضرتِ حُدد رح منقول است، بر صفحه ۸۲ نقعاب الانس مع تشریح  
شیخ الاسلام موجود است و اغلب این که دارا سَکُوت آن را از نقعاب نقل نموده و معلوم

طهورِ اولِ او حقیقِ محمدی و بانیِ آو روح القدس که حُرکتِ اُمین باشد  
 است (۱) اِن همه نِعَدَات را از خود پندار کرده و خود را بآن بسته گردانده (۱) -  
 چنانکه کرم بنده نازهای انبشتم از لعابِ خود بر آورده خود را در آن بسته  
 است همچنان حصرِ واحِد الوحد اِن همه نبود و همی را از خود بر  
 آورده و خود را درو در آورده است مثل دَحمِ درِج که درِج را از  
 خود بر آورده خود در درِج در می آید و در بندِ ساحها و برگها و گُلها  
 مینسود - پس بدان و هوس دار که ندان از طهور اِن عالم در داب پنهان بود  
 و الحال دابِ معدّس او در عالم پنهان است \*

### ۳ — بیانِ شعل

شعل دردِ موحّدانِ همدگه اگرچه اقسام است اما بهترینِ سعلها اَحْیا را  
 میدادند و آن سعلست که چه در حواف و چه در بنداری بی قصد و بی  
 احتیاج از جمیع دلی نفوسِ همدسته و هر آن صادر میگردد حفاصه در آنکه کریمه  
 رَ اِن مِس سَمِی اِلَّا نَسِیجِ یَحْمَدِ و لَکِن لا یَقْهَوْنَ نَسِیجَهُمْ (۲) اساره نهمین است  
 و آن درونِ رفس و درونِ آمدنی دم را در لفظِ بعدتر کرده اند، نَفَسِ که بالا  
 مَنرود "آو" میگویند و نَفَسِ که درون می آید "مِس" می نامند نعلی  
 "آو مسم" و صوفیه مسعولم اِن دو لفظ را "هو الله" میدادند که در بالا  
 رفسِ نَفَسِ "هو" و در درون آمدن "الله" ظاهر مینسود، و اِن دو لفظ از  
 هر دلی حجابِ خارجست و آو بعدتر است \*

(۱) مولانا محمود شبستری در "گلشن راز" می فرماید —

نه آخرِ واجب آمدنِ حُرّ هندی که هندی کرد اورا ربو دهنی

(۲) قرآن مجید، ۱۷ \* ۱۴۶

## ۴ — ببيان صفات الله تعالى

درد صوفیه دو صعب است، حمال و حلال که جمیع آوردن از صعب  
 این دو صعب بدوین نسیب و درد فقرای هدهد سه صفت اند که آن را برگی  
 میگویند، سَبَّ و رَح و نَم سَبَّ یعنی انکاد، و رَح یعنی انفا و نَم  
 یعنی انفا و صوفیه صعب انفا را در صم صعب حمال دیده و اعتبار کرده  
 اند چون هر یکی از این سه صعب در نکدنکر مدرج اند فقرای هدهد این  
 سه صعب را برصورت نامند که ترهما و نَس و مهندس ناسد و ربان صوفیه  
حدرئیل و میکائیل و اسرافیل گویند ترهما موکل انکاد است که حدرئیل  
ناسد و نَس موکل انفا است که میکائیل ناسد و مهندس موکل انفا است که  
اسرافیل ناسد - و آب و باد و آنس در مفسود ناس موکلاند، آب  
حدرئیل و آنس میکائیل و باد اسرافیل و این سه چیز در جمع حاندازان  
در ظاهر است، ترهما که آب ناسد در ربان، مظهر کلام الهی گسب و نطق  
 ازین ظاهر شد، و نَس که انس است در چشم، روسی و دور و بنائنی ارو  
ظاهر شد و مهندس که باد است در بنی، در نقشه صور ازین ظاهر شد که  
 در نفس ناسد و چون آن منقطع گردان فانی سود \*

برگی سه صعب حق ناسد که انکاد و انفا و انفا سب و مظهر این سه  
 صعب هم ترهما و نَس و مهندس اند که صعب آنها در جمع مخلوقات ظاهر  
 اند، اَوَّل مخلوق دیدا مفسود بار نعدر موعود ممداند و بار فانی مفسود،  
 و سبک که قدر این سه صعب است آن را برکدوی گویند، و ازین برصورت



اسب نداد چرا که سبب احساس مملوسات ناد اسب و سامعه مندوب  
 اسب بعدصر اعظم که مها اکس ناسد که سبب ادراک اصوات اسب - و ار  
 راه سمع حقیق مها اکس بر اهل دل طاهر مندوب و دیگری بر آن مطلع  
 دسب - و انس تعلدسب مسدرک درمنا صوفیه و موحدان هدد که صوفیه انس را  
 سعل پانس انفس<sup>(۱)</sup> میگویند و انسان در اصطلاح خود ذهن می نامند  
 اما حواس ناطق در پنج اند، حس مسبرک ماکتله منعکزه حافظه و واهمه  
 و بر دل اهل هدد چهار اند گنده و من و اهدکار و چب و مجموعه انس چهار  
 را آندیه گن گویند که دمدرله پنجم آنها اسب - حب نک عادت دارد که آن را  
 سب پرکرت گویند و انس عادت دمدرله نای اوسب که اگر آن منقطع شود  
 چب از دودن نار ماند اول گده نعدی عقل، و گده آسب که طرف حدر  
 رود و طرف سر درود، دوم من که عتار از دل اسب و آن دو قوت دارد  
 سنگلک نکات نعدی عریم و سمع، سدوم چب که پیک دل اسب و کار او  
 دودن ناسد نهر سو و دمر میل حدر و سر نکند، چهارم اهدکار نعدی دسب  
 دهدد حبرها بخود، و اهدکار صعب برم اما اسب دسب مانا، و مانا  
 نرنا انسان عسی اسب - و اهدکار در سه قسم اسب، سانگ و راحس  
 و نامس اهدکار سانگ نعدی گنا سرور که مریده اعلی اسب آدسب  
 که برم اما نکود که هرچه هسب همه مهم و انس مریده احاطه کلی اسب

(۱) در کتابخانه بولدن (آکسفورد) کتابی اسب مسمی به "رساله ناس انفس" از  
 مولفان مولانا عبد الرحمن حامی، (برای تفصیل رجوع کنند به فهرست کتاب خانه  
 هدا، مریده رجوع و انبهی صفحه ۷۵۸) +

همه اسما را إِلَّا أَنَّهُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مُحِيطٌ (۱) یعنی دانا و آگاه ناس بدرسدنکه  
اوسب همه چدر را احاطه کدنده - دنگر آنکه هُوَ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ  
(۲) یعنی اوسب اول و اوسب آخر و اوسب ظاهر و اوسب باطن و اهدکار  
أَحْسَنَ مَدَّهِمْ اسب که اوسط ناسد و انس آدسب که نظر بر حدو آئمال ناسدنه  
نگوید که داب می از بدن و عناصر مدرة اسب و جسمانیست منی دسبب  
ددارد، لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ (۳) یعنی دسبب مامدد او چدری فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ عِشْرِ  
الْعَالَمِينَ (۴) یعنی حدای دعالی بی ددار اسب از ظهور عالم و اهدکار نامس  
أَنَّهُمْ اسب که ادبی ناسد و انس اول ناسب یعنی مردنه عدودنص حصرب  
وحدود - و ادبی بودن از حصرب آدسب که از بهایب ددرل و دعد و دعد  
نادانی و چهل و علف را بحدود دسبب مامدد و نظر بر حداب محسوسه  
حدود نمودلا مگوید که "می" و "نو" از مردنه نگانگی ددر می آفند  
وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا فَاعْبُدْنِي (۵) یعنی نگو ای مامدد که حر انس دسبب که مدم  
دسری مامدد سما - حدابکه دسبب مگوید که چون حصرب وحدود حواسب که  
مدعس سوب مامدد انس اراده برم آئما سد و حوس انس دعد رانده سد اهدکار  
بهیم رسید و حوس دعد دنگر بر آن افروز مهابت که عقل گل ناسد نام  
ناب، و از سنکلب و مهابت می یعنی فلب ددا سد که آن را برکوب ددر  
گویدند و از سنکلب می دبع گیل اندری که سامه و لامسه و ناصره و سامعه  
و دانده ناسد ظهور آمد و از سنکلب و انس دبع گیل اندری اعضاء و احسام  
بهیم رسد و انس مجموعه را بدن گویدند - دس برم آئما که انو الاواح ناسد (که

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۴۱ - ۵۴ \* (۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۷ - ۳ \*

(۳) دو ۴۲ ۱۱ + (۴) دو ۳ ۹۶ \* (۵) قرآن مجید، ۱۸ ۱۱ \*

و موحّدانِ همد آن را هَرّ گزیده و اَرَسَمَها آسمان دادند که اشاره نموده  
اعظم است - و بعد از آن عنصر باد است که آن را نفس الرحمن گویند،  
و از آن نفس باد بداد شد و چون آن نفس بجهتِ حدس در حصرِ وجود  
که در هنگامِ تعبیه برای ظهورِ داسب گرم بر آمد از باد آس بداد شد -  
و چون در همان نفس صعبِ رحمان و اَنکاد بود سرد شد و از آس آب  
بداد شد (۱) چون عنصر باد و آس از جانب لطافت محسوس بدادند  
و آب به نسبتِ آن هر در محسوس است، بجهتِ محسوس بودنِ آن  
بعضی گفته اند که اوّل آب بداد شد و بعد از آن عنصرِ خاک، و این خاک  
مدلوله کفِ آن آب است، چون سدری که در زیرِ آن آس باشد و بخوس  
اند و کف کند \* ندب \*

چه دانستم که این دریا بی نالان چمنی باشد  
بخارس آسمان گردد کفِ دریا رمنی باشد  
\* دیگر \*

یک قطره چو نَصّه حوسده گسب دریا  
کف کرد و کف رمنی شد و در دودِ آو سما شد

و بر عکسِ این در مقامِ کدری که آن را دریا اهلِ همد مَها بَرّلی  
گویند اوّل مَهایِ خاک خواهد شد و آن را آبِ مَر خواهد بُرد و آب را آس  
حُسک خواهد ساحب و آس را باد مَر خواهد رساند، و باد با روحِ اعظم  
در مَها اکس مَر خواهد رفت کُلُّ سَنَیْ هَالِکٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ (۱) یعنی همه چیز  
فانی خواهد شد مگر (ویِ حُدایِ) تعالی که مَها اکس باشد - کُلُّ مِثِّ عَلَیْهَا  
فَانٍ وَ نَبَقِی وَجْهٌ رَبِّکَ دُرُ الْکَلِّ وَالْاَکْرَامِ (۲) یعنی همه آنچه که بر

(۲) قرآن مجید، ۵۵، ۲۶ \*

(۱) قرآن مجید، ۲۸، ۸۸ \*

روی رَمَس تُوَد فانی خواهد شد و فانی مَآئِدَ روی پروردگارِ تو که صاحبِ  
 حلال و اکرام است پس در آنکه کریمه که برای فانی جمع است  
 وند وجه که رفته مراد مَها اکاس است که آن بنا پذیرد نسبت و الا منقرضه‌ی  
 کُلُّ سَنَنِ هَالِكٌ اِلَّا هُوَ یعنی همه حذر فانی خواهد شد مگر دابِ او - و وند  
 رو برای مَها اکاس ناسد چه مَها اکاس بمنزلِ ندی لطیفِ آن دابِ معذّس  
 است - و خاک را برین اهل هدد ندوی نامند که همه حذر او پیدا  
 شده است و نار همه حذر درو درو منور و موحبِ اندک کریمه مَدِّهَا خَلَقَكُمْ  
 وَ مَدِّهَا يُعَدِّدُكُمْ وَ مَدِّهَا يُخَرِّجُكُمْ نَارَهُ اُخْرٰی (۱) یعنی از خاک خلق کردم  
 شما را و در آن خاک نار خواهد بود شما را و از آن خاک نیروی می آید  
 شما را نار دنگر \*

## ۲ — بیانِ حواس

موافقِ این پنج عناصر پنج حواس اند که برین اهلِ هدد آن را پنج اندری  
 گویند، سامّه دانعه ناصره سامعه و لامسه که آن را برین اهلِ هدد کهان، رسنا  
 چوخته سرور و نوک میگویند و محسوساتِ آن را گدده رس زوپا سند  
 و سپرس نامند - و هر یکی ازین حواس پنجگانه از حدّس یکی ازین عناصر نباشد  
 و محسوساتِ آن سامّه محسوس است بچاک چه هیچ یکی از عناصر ندوی  
 ندارد الا حاک و احساس ندوی سامّه میکند - و دانعه محسوس است بآب  
 چنانکه آب ظاهر است در زبان و ناصره محسوس است بآنس چنانکه  
 درکِ رنگها بحسب است و نورانیّت در هر دو ظاهر است - و لامسه را نسبت

همسانه و همسین و همرا همه اوسب

در دلی گدا و اطلس سه همه اوسب

در انکس فرق و دهانکانه جمع

نالله همه اوسب بم نالله همه اوسب

درود با مکدود در مطهر ادم ناعب انکاد عالم حصص محمد صلی  
 الله علیه و سلم و نر آل کرام و نر اصحاب عظام او ناد - اما بعد منگود و بعد  
 بدکن و اندوا محمد دارا سکوة که بعد از درناپ حقیق الکفای و بدکن  
 رمور و دفاسی مذهب برحق صوفیه و فائز گسی ناس عطیه عظمی در صدن آن  
 سد که درک کدد مسرب موحدان هدد و با بعضی از محققان این قوم  
 ر کاملان انسان که نهانیت ربانیت و ادراک و فهمدگی و عاب بصرف  
 و جدا نانی رسیده بودند مکرر صاحبها دانسته و گفتگو نموده حر اختلاف  
 لفظی در درناپ و سناح حق تعاونی ددد این جهت سخنان  
 فریض را با هم تطبیق داده و بعضی از سخنان که طالبان حق را دانستن آن  
 ناگزیر ر سودمند است فراهم آورده رساله برینب داده و چون مجموعه  
 حقائق و معارف دو طایفه حوشراس بود لهذا بمجمع الکس موسوم  
 گردانند بموجب قول اکابر که **النصوف هو الانصاف والنصوف ترک الکلیف**،  
 پس هرکه انصاف دارد و از اهل ادراک است در می ناند که در بدکن  
 این مراتب چه عور رفته و بعضی که فهمدگان صاحب ادراک حظ وافر این  
 رساله خواهند بود - و کدد مهمان طرفین را نصیحت از فوائد آن بخواهد سد  
 و این بدکن را موافق کسب و درود حود برای اهلبیب حود بوسه ام،  
 و مرا با عوام هر دو قوم کاری نیست - حقائقه حواحه عبدالله احرار (۱) قدس

(۱) حواحه ناصرالدین عسکری که بلفظ حواحه احرار معروف اند، از صوفیان حلی  
 القدر طایفه نقشبندی بودند، ولادت سال در ۶۸۶ هـ بموقع آمده و انسان بدستورانام

سِرَّةٔ فرموده که اگر دایم که کافری پر خطا رمرمغه نوحید بهدکاری می سراند  
مردوم و ارزی منسوم و متب دار منسوم - وَمِنْ اللّٰهِ التَّوْفِیْقُ وَالْاَسْبَغَانَةُ \*

## ۱ - بیان عناصر

بدانکه عناصر پنج اند و مادّاً جمیع مخلوقات داسوی همین پنج اند  
اول عنصر اعظم که آن را اهل سرع عرس اکثر میگویند - دوم باد - سوم  
آب - چهارم آت و پنجم خاک و این را برین اهل هدد دانسته بهوب می  
نامند اَکَّسٌ وَنَائِیٌ وَبِیْجٌ وَحَلٌّ وَنَرْنَهی - و اکس سه اند، بُهؤ اکس،  
مَن اکس، و چَد اکس آنکه محیط عناصر باشد آن را بُهؤ اکس گویند،  
و آنکه محیط موجودات است آن را مَن اکس نامند و آنکه بر همه محیط  
و در همه جا باشد آن را چَد اکس خوانند، و چَد اکس بر حق است یعنی  
حادث نیست و بر حدوث و فعلی آن هیچ آنکه فرآیی و بد که کتاب آسمانی  
باشد دلالت نمی کند - از چَد اکس اول حدی که بهم رسد "عس" بود  
که آن را برین موجودات هدد مانا گویند و کُتْ کُتْراً مَعْقِلاً فَحَدَّثَ اَنْ اَعْرَفَ  
وَحَدَّثَ اَلْحَقُّ بَرِی دال است، یعنی بودم من گنجی بیهال پس  
دوست دایم که مشاهده سوم پس ظاهر کردم خلق را برای سحاب خود  
و از "عس" روح اعظم یعنی حتو آسمان بداد شد که آن را حعب میگویند  
گویند و آن اساره بروح کلیمی آن سرور صَلَوَةُ اللّٰهِ وَ سَلَامُهُ عَلَیْهِ است،

ردگانی حوس در معروفند بسر بردند و بتاریخ ۲۹ ریح الاول سنه ۸۹۵ هـ وفات یافتند، ملا  
علی بن حسن الواعظ الکاشفی در "رسعات عن العباب" تذکراً حواحه احرار بتفصیل  
نویسنده، (و هم رجوع کنند به نقعات الانس حامی صفحه ۳۹۴ - ۳۷ و سقیده الاولیاء  
از داراسکوة صفحه ۸۱) - و داراشکوة قول بالا را که از حواحه احرار مروی است، در  
حساب العارض (صفحه ۳۹) هم نقل نموده \*

## فہرست مضامین مجمع البحرین

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## بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بسم آنکه او نامی ندارد \* بهر نامی که خواهی سر بر آرد (۱)  
حمدِ موعود نگاشته را که در رقبِ کفر و اسلام که نقطهٔ معادل بهم اند  
بر چهرهٔ ربانی بی مدل و نظیرِ حونس طاهر گردانند و هیچ یکی را از آنها  
حجابِ رحِ نیکوی خود نساخته  
\* نظم \*

کفر و اسلام در رهس بوداں  
وَحَدُّهُ لَا يَرْثُكَ لَهُ گوداں (۲)

در همه اوسب طاهر و همه اروسب حلوه گر ازل اوسب و آخر اوسب  
و عذر او موحود نداشت  
\* رباعی (۳) \*

(۱) این شعر از حدیقه الکرامه حکیم سنائی عربنویس، و دارای سکوته هم رباعی  
درس معنی گفته

یک ذره ندانم ر حورسند خدا + هر قطره آب هست عین دریا  
حق را بجه نام کس نتواند خواندن + هر نام که هست هست از اسماء خدا  
و حامی علیه الرحمة هم درس معنی گفته

که ناله و گه خام خوانم ترا + گه دانه و گه دام خوانم ترا  
حر نام تو بر لوح جهان حنری هست + آلا کدام نام خوانم ترا  
(حسان العارضی صفحه ۵۴ و صفحه ۴۱)

(۲) از دربار اکبری مؤلفهٔ مولوی محمد حسن آزاد (صفحه ۴۹۲) معلوم میشود که  
انوالفصل این شعر را برای عمارتی اختیار کرده بود که اکثر در کشتی بنا نهاده و گویند  
که این عمارتی بود مسجک در میان هند و اهل اسلام +

(۳) این رباعی از کلام مولانا عبدالرحمن حامی عاَءِ الرحمة است که دارای سکوته ترا  
در حسان العارضی (صفحه ۴۱) در ضمن شطحیات مولانا مرحوم هم نقل نموده \*





# مجمع البکرین

ارتصیف

شاهزاده محمّد دارا شکوه

که در سده ۱۰۶۴ هجری قمری و دسی ناتمام رسیده  
و حالا در سده ۱۳۴۷ هجری مطابق ۱۹۲۸ میلادی

تبعی و تصحیح اقل همان

محمّد محفوظ الحق

مدرس زبان فارسی و اردو در پرسنسی کالج کالکته

نکله طبع آراسه گدین

is based on (the figures) eight' and 'ten, beyond which, they say, no thing can be counted. Now, the Smaller Resurrections" that have taken place in the past and will so recur in future are called *khandh parh*<sup>1</sup>, which come either like the inundation of water or the conflagration of fire or the storm. And, after this period has elapsed, this day (of ours) will turn into evening and "the Great Resurrection," which they call *mahā parh*, will take place, as ordained in the following two verses: "On the day when the earth shall be changed into a different earth,"<sup>2</sup> and "On the day when We will roll up heaven like the rolling up of the scroll for writings"<sup>3</sup>. Now, after "the Great Resurrection," on the "Night of Concealment," which is parallel to the Day of Manifestation, all the "determinations" will be absorbed in the Self of the Lord—its duration being equal to eighteen *any* years of the world. And, the period of *avasthātām*<sup>4</sup>, which is identical with *sakhūpat* and *Jabarūt*, is equal to the age of the Lord, who is undisturbed by the creation of mortals or the destruction of the Universe, and the verse of the *Kur'ān*: "Soon will We apply Ourselves to you O you two armies (of *jinn* and human beings)"<sup>5</sup> is a reference to this very *sakhūpat*. During the life of the earth the Lord God dwells in the stage of *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) and, during the period of "the Smaller Resurrections," in the stage of *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and, after "the Great Resurrection, in *Jabarūt* (or the Highest Heaven).

O my friend whatever I have recorded in this chapter is the outcome of much painstaking and considerable research and is in accordance with my own inspiration, which, although you may have not read in any book or heard from any one, is also in conformity with the two (above mentioned) Holy verses (of the *Kur'ān*). Now, if this (exposition) falls heavy on the ears of certain defective ones, I entertain no fear on that account: "Then surely Allāh is Self-sufficient above any need of the worlds"<sup>6</sup>.

## XXII DISCOURSE ON THE INFINITY OF THE CYCLES (*Adwān*)

According to the Indian doctors, God, the Most High is not confined to these days or these nights only but, that, when these nights will termi-

<sup>1</sup> *Khanda pralaya*

<sup>2</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch XIV 48

<sup>3</sup> *Kur'ān*, Ch XXI 104

<sup>4</sup> *Avasthātman*

<sup>5</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch LV 31

<sup>6</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch III 96

nate days will re appear and when these days will terminate, nights will re appear—this process continuing without end This (process) is named *anād parwāh* <sup>1</sup> and Khwāṣa Hāfiz, may mercy be on him, having his eye on this Infinity of cycles, has said

“There is no end to my story, or to that of the beloved,  
For, whatever hath no beginning can have no end

Now, whatever peculiarities of the manifestation and concealment of His Self have appeared in previous days and nights will also re appear, in exactly the same manner, in the following days and nights, as stated in the Holy verse “*As We originated the first creation, (so) We shall reproduce it*” <sup>2</sup>

So after the termination of this cycle, the world of Adam the father of men will re appear in exactly the same manner, and, as such, it will be endless And, the verse of the *Kur’ān* “*As He brought you forth in the beginning, so shall you also return*”, <sup>3</sup> is also an argument, proving the above (statement) If, however, any one doubts and says that the finality of our Prophet, may peace be on him, is not proved by this exposition, I will tell him that next day also, our Prophet, may peace be on him, will re appear in an exactly similar manner and on that day (also) he will be called, “the Last of the Prophets” The following Tradition which is narrated in connection with the night of Ascent (*Mi’rāj*), is an argument to this effect It is said that our Prophet, may peace be on him, saw a line of camels proceeding (in succession) without any break, and on each of which two bags were laden, in each of which there was a world like that of ours and in each such world there was a Muhammad (just) like him (Our Prophet) asked Gabriel, “What is this?” (Gabriel) replied “Oh Prophet of God! since my creation, I have been witnessing this line of camels proceeding with bags (laden on them), but, I am also unaware of their (real) significance” This, (as I believe), is a reference to the Infinity of the Cycles

Praise be to God for His favours, Who granted me the grace of completing this tract, entitled *Majma’ ul Bahrain*, in the year 1065 A H, which corresponds to the forty second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing *jakīn*, Muhammad Dārā Shikūh

<sup>1</sup> *Anād parwāh*

<sup>2</sup> *Kur’ān* Ch XXI 104

<sup>3</sup> *Kur’ān*, Ch VII 29

is the two eye brows of *mahā puras tap luk*, which is above *jan luk*, is the forehead of *mahā puras* and the *sat luk* which is above all *laks*, is the skull of *mahā puras*, the verses of *Tawhīd* (monotheism) and the Book of God are the *dura mater* of *mahā puras* the black clouds, which carry the water of *mahā parh*<sup>1</sup> (i.e., the great dissolution), are the hairs of *mahā puras*, the vegetation of all the *laks* is the hair of *mahā puras*' body, *Lakṣmī*<sup>2</sup>, who is the wealth and adornment of the world, is the beauty of *mahā puras*, the shining sun is the purity of *mahā puras*' body, *bhūt akās*<sup>3</sup> are the pores of *mahā puras* body, *chid akās*<sup>4</sup> is the soul of *mahā puras* body, the form of every single human being is the abode of *mahā puras* the perfect man is the closet and special abode of *mahā puras* as He said to David may peace be on him "Oh David, build a house for Me" (He) replied, "Oh God! Thou art exempt from habitation" (God) said, "Thou art my abode Make thy house void of 'others'" The attributes, found in abundance in *Barhmānd*, are present in man who is the epitome of 'the Great World' ('*Ālam i Kabīr*') In fine, one who beholds and understands in this way attains *jīvan mukt*<sup>5</sup>, and the following verse (of the *Kur'ān*) is in favour of the above "Rejoicing in what Allāh has given them out of His grace"<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, *Sarab mukt*,<sup>7</sup> or the liberation from every kind of bondage, consists in absorption in His Self This (salvation) is universally true in the case of all living beings, and, after the destruction of the sky, the earth, the Paradise the Hell, the *Barhmānd* and the day and the night, they will attain salvation by annihilation in the Self (of the Lord) And the Holy verse "And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement"<sup>8</sup> and "Now surely the friends of Allāh—they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve,"<sup>9</sup> is a reference to this very *mukt*, or salvation

Thirdly, *Sarbadā mukt*<sup>10</sup> or later salvation, consists in becoming in 'Araf (i.e. knower of God) and in attaining freedom and salvation, in every stage of "progress" (*san*), whether this (progress) be made in the day or the night, whether in the manifest or the hidden world, whether the *Barhmānd* appears or not and whether (it takes place) in

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāpralaya*

<sup>2</sup> *Lakṣmī*

<sup>3</sup> *Bhūtākāśa*

<sup>4</sup> *Čidākāśa*

<sup>5</sup> *Jīvanmukt*

<sup>6</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch III 169

<sup>7</sup> *Sarabmukt*

<sup>8</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch IX 72

<sup>9</sup> *Kur'ān*, Ch X 62

<sup>10</sup> *Sarbadā mukt*

the past, the present or the future i.e. *bhūt*<sup>1</sup>, *bhūṣht*<sup>2</sup> *baṭamān*<sup>3</sup> And wherever the Holy *Kur'ān* speaks of Paradise 'Abiding therein (i.e. in *jannat*) for ever'<sup>4</sup>, there, (the word) *jannat* (Paradise) applies to *ma'rīfat* (or knowledge) of God and *abadā* (i.e.) refers to the perpetuity of this *muk̄t* (or salvation) the reason being that, in whatever state (one) may be the capacity to know God (i.e. of *ma'rīfat*) and to receive Eternal favour is (absolutely) necessary. Hence the following two Holy verses have been revealed (to give good tidings) to such a group (of persons) as attain *muk̄t* or, salvation 'Then Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs abiding therein for ever, surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him' and Give good news (O Prophet) to the believers who do good that they shall have a goodly reward, (i.e. a *ma'rīfat*, or, knowledge of God, the Most Holy and High, which, certainly, is a handsome reward for the 'Aṭīq, namely, that of *Ḥudw* i. *Ā'lā*) staying in it (i.e. in *Ḥudw* i. *Ā'lā*) for ever''<sup>5</sup>

#### XXI DISCOURSE ON DAY AND NIGHT (*Rū wa Shab*)

Divinity of Creation and Concomitment—According to the Indian monotheists, the age of *Barhmā*, who is identical with Gabriel, and the annihilation of *Barhmānd* and the end of the "Day of Creation," or the "Day of Divinity," is eighteen *any* years of the world, each *any* (again) is equal to one thousand years, as mentioned in the two Holy verses of the *Kur'ān* "And surely a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of what you number" <sup>6</sup> The other Holy verse is "To Him ascend the angels and the Spirit (that is *Jibrā'il* or *Barhmā*) in a day the measure of which is fifty thousand years,"<sup>7</sup> and each day of which consists of one thousand years, as may be deduced from the former verse (of the *Kur'ān*). So, according to my reckoning, the age of Gabriel and the duration of the life of Day and the whole Universe, which is identical with *Barhmānd*, is (equal to) eighteen *any* years of the world, each *any* of which (in its turn) is equal to one thousand years—there being not the least increase or decrease. Such is the reckoning of the Indian monotheists. It must also be known that their (i.e. Indians') specification of the figure *eighteen*

<sup>1</sup> *Bhūta*      <sup>2</sup> *Bhavīyat*

<sup>3</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch IX 21 22

<sup>4</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch XXII 17

<sup>5</sup> *Vaṭamāna*      <sup>6</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch IX 22

<sup>7</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch XVIII 2 3

<sup>8</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch LXX 4

all veins reach the navel, so all the rivers meet the ocean, the *Gangā* the *Jamnā* and the *Sarasī* are the principal veins (*Shahrag*) of *mahā puras* *anklā*, *jamnān bīklā*, *jamunān*, *Sakhmanā*<sup>1</sup> and *Sarasī bhuluk* which is above *bhuluks* and is the abode of *Gundhar p divtās*<sup>2</sup> and where all sounds originate, are the stomach of *mahā puras* the fire of "the smaller Resurrection" (*Kiyāmat i Sughrā*) is the morning appetite of *mahā puras*, the drying up of waters in "the smaller Resurrection" is the thirst of *mahā puras*, *sarag luk*<sup>3</sup> which is above *bhuluk* and is one of the divisions of Paradise, is the chest of *mahā puras*, for it is the abode of perpetual festivity, happiness and peace all the stars are the various jewels of *mahā puras*, gift, before the asking which is liberality and bounty, is the right breast and gift, after the asking, which is donation is the left breast of *mahā puras* moderation (*i'udāl*), which is composed of *rajūgun*,<sup>4</sup> *satūgun*<sup>5</sup> and *lamūgun*,<sup>6</sup> called *paraka ar*<sup>7</sup> (collectively), is the heart of *mahā puras*, and just as water lily has three colours namely, white, red and violet, so the heart also, whose colour is like that of a water lily has three qualities, (which may be identified with) the three colours of manifestation, namely, *Bahmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahish* *Bahmā*, who is also called *man*, is the beating and intention of the heart of *mahā puras* *Bishun* is the love and mercy of *mahā puras* *Mahish* is the wrath and rage of *mahā puras*, the moon, which removes the heat of pain and grief is the smile and the happy mood of *mahā puras* the night is the bow of *mahā puras*, the *sumir parat*<sup>8</sup> mountain is the backbone of *mahā puras*, the mountains that are on the right and the left of *Sumirū* are the bones of the ribs of *mahā puras* the two hands of *mahā puras* are the eight guardian angels who have *Indar*<sup>9</sup> as their chief (the latter) possessing the complete power of bestowing and pouring and of withholding and stopping rain, the right hand of *mahā puras* is that of showing generosity and pouring rain while the left one is that of holding the same back, *amcharā*,<sup>10</sup> or the *Hours* (*Hūr*) of Paradise, are the lines of the palm of *mahā puras* the angels, called *chach*<sup>11</sup> are the nails of the hand of *mahā puras*, the three *luk pāl*<sup>12</sup> angels are the right hand of *mahā puras*, the angel named *jam*<sup>13</sup> is the arm of *mahā puras*, the remaining

<sup>1</sup> These words could not be identified

<sup>2</sup> *Gandharva devatā*

<sup>3</sup> *Svaqaloka*

<sup>4</sup> *Rajoguna*

<sup>5</sup> *Satvaguna*

<sup>6</sup> *Tamoguna*

<sup>7</sup> *Pakriti*

<sup>8</sup> *Sumeruparvata*

<sup>9</sup> *Indra*

<sup>10</sup> *Apsaras*

<sup>11</sup> *Yaksa*

<sup>12</sup> *Lokapāla*

<sup>13</sup> *Yama*

*luk pāl* angels are the left hand of *mahā puras* the angel *Kubair* is the knee of *mahā puras*

*Kalap brach*<sup>1</sup>, or the *Tūbā*<sup>2</sup> tree, is the wand of *mahā puras*, the southern and the northern poles are the right and the left shoulders, respectively, of *mahā puras*, the *luk pāl* angel, named *Baran*, who is the superintendent of water and resides in the west is the bone of *mahā puras* neck, *anāhat*,<sup>3</sup> or *Sultān ul Adhikār*, is the thin voice of *mahā puras*, *mahar luk*<sup>4</sup>, which is above *sarag luk*<sup>5</sup>, is the throat and neck of *mahā puras*, *jan luk*<sup>6</sup> which is above *mahar luk*, is the auspicious face of *mahā puras*, the will of the world is the chin pit of *mahā puras*, the avoice of the world is the lower lip of *mahā puras*, the sense of shame and modesty is the upper lip of *mahā puras*, the chest, that is, (the abode of) love and attachment is the gums of *mahā puras*, the meal of the whole world is the food of *mahā puras*, the element of water is the palate and mouth of *mahā puras*, the element of fire is the tongue of *mahā puras*, *sarast* is the faculty of speech of *mahā puras*, the four *Vedas*, or the four books of truth, are the speeches of *mahā puras*, *māyā*, or love, which is the cause of creation of the universe, is the laughter and good humour of *mahā puras*, the eight directions of the world are the two ears of *mahā puras* *Ashnī Kumār*<sup>7</sup>, who are the two angels of exceeding beauty, are the two nostrils of *mahā puras* *gandha tanmāla*<sup>8</sup>, or the element of dust, is the smelling faculty of *mahā puras*, the element of air is the breathing faculty of *mahā puras*, *jan luk* and *tap luk*,<sup>9</sup> which are the fifth and sixth divisions of Paradise, are illumined with the light of His Self, and then southern and northern halves are the right and the left eyes, respectively, of *mahā puras*, the pure light (or, *nūr*), which is called 'the Eternal Sun,' is the faculty of eye sight possessed by *mahā puras*, the whole creation is the favourable glance of *mahā puras*, the days and the nights of the world are the twinklings of the eyes of *mahā puras*, the angel *Mitr*, who is the commissary of love and friendship and the angel *Tavasitā*<sup>10</sup>, who is the commissary of wrath and rage,

<sup>1</sup> *Kalpa vṛkṣa*

<sup>2</sup> *Tūbā*, a tree on the seventh heaven is said to be the abode of Gabriel. It is stated that no one can go above the Tree—the only exception being made in the case of Muhammad on the night of *Mirāj* or Ascent <sup>3</sup> *Anāhata*

<sup>4</sup> *Mahar loka*

<sup>5</sup> *Svaragaloka*

<sup>6</sup> *Janaloka*

<sup>7</sup> *Aśvinī lūmāna*

<sup>8</sup> *Gandhātānmalā*

<sup>9</sup> *Tapoloka*

<sup>10</sup> *Tvasṭa*



*First, Jivān mukt*<sup>1</sup>, or salvation in life. According to them (i.e. the Indians), *Jivān mukt* consists in one's attainment of salvation and freedom, by being endowed with the wealth of knowing and understanding the Truth, in seeing and considering everything of this world as *one* in ascribing to God and not to oneself, all (i.e. man's) deeds, actions, movements and behaviour, whether good or bad, and in regarding oneself, together with all other existing objects, as in complete identity with the Truth. Further he should regard God as manifesting Himself in all the stages and should look upon *Barkhānd*, which the Sūfis call *Ālam i Kubrā* (or the Great World) and is (moreover) the 'Complete Form' of God as the corporeal body of God. He should regard '*Unsur i A'zam* (or the Great Element) namely, *mahā akās*, as *Sūcham Sanī*<sup>2</sup>, or the fine body of God, and should consider the Self of God as the soul of that body. Further, considering Him as One Fixed Person, he should behold or know nothing, save the Self of that Unique, Incomparable Lord, whether (it be) in a particle of dust or a mountain whether in the manifest or the hidden world. Now, just as a human being, who is called the 'smaller world' (*Ālam i Saghīr*), is one individual, despite his various and numerous limbs and just as his personality is not multitudinous on account of his many limbs, so that Unique Self cannot be considered multitudinous on account of the variety of determinations. (Verse)

'The whole world, whether of souls or bodies  
Is One Fixed Person—called '*Ālam*'"

So, one should consider God, the Most Holy and High, Who is not separated even by a hair's breadth as the soul and life of that "Fixed Person" as is said by *Shaykh Sa'duddin Hummū'i*<sup>3</sup> *Quatrains*

"Truth is the soul of the world, the whole world the trunk,  
Souls, angels and senses are the bodies  
The skies, the elements, the three Kingdoms of nature (i.e.,  
animal, vegetable and mineral) and the bodies—  
This is Monotheism and all else is device and artifice"

<sup>1</sup> *Jivānmukt*

<sup>2</sup> *Sūksman Sanī'a*

<sup>3</sup> Sa'duddin b. al-Muwayyad Hummū'i was a great mystic and a writer of numerous works on Sūfism. A summary of 400 of his works entitled *Hasht ul-Hakā'ik* is noticed in A.S.B. Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 565. He died in 650 A.H. = 1253 A.D.

Similarly, the Indian monotheists, like Vyāsa<sup>1</sup> and others, having considered *Brahmānd* which is 'Ālam i Kabī (or the great world), as one individual self have accordingly, described the different limbs of its (i.e. *Brahmānd*'s) body. The reason (of such description) is that whenever a pure mystic casts his eyes on anything he conceives that he is looking at a particular limb of *mahā puras*<sup>2</sup>, that is, the Self of the Truth, Sanctified and Exalted is He.

(Now), *Pātāl*<sup>3</sup> which is the seventh layer of the earth, is the sole of *mahā puras*' foot, *Rasātāl*<sup>4</sup>, which is the sixth layer, is the upper part of *mahā puras*' foot, the Satans are the fingers of *mahā puras*' foot, the steeds used by the Satans are the nails of *mahā puras*' foot, *Mahātāl*<sup>5</sup> which is the fifth layer of the earth, is the ankle bone of *mahā puras*, *Tālātāl*<sup>6</sup> which is the fourth layer of the earth, is the shank of *mahā puras*, *Sutāl*<sup>7</sup>, which is the third layer of the earth, is the knee of *mahā puras*, *Bātāl*<sup>8</sup> which is the second layer of the earth, is the thigh of *mahā puras*, *Ātāl*<sup>9</sup> which is the first layer of the earth, is the special origin of *mahā puras*, *Kāl*<sup>10</sup>, or time, is the pace of *mahā puras*. *Parjānat devātā*<sup>11</sup>, who is the cause of birth and issue throughout the whole world, is the sign of manhood and virility of *mahā puras*. *Ām* is the seed of *mahā puras*, *Bhūloka*<sup>12</sup>, namely, from the earth up to the sky is the part below the navel of *mahā puras*, the three southern and the three northern mountains are the right and the left hands of *mahā puras*, *sumar parat*<sup>13</sup> is the buttocks of *mahā puras*, the light of the false dawn is the thread of the lace of *mahā puras*' garments, the light of the true dawn is the whiteness of *mahā puras*' sheet (*chādar*), the evening when the twilight is visible is the garment, covering *mahā puras*' private parts, the sea, namely, the encircling ocean, is the circumference and depth of *mahā puras*' navel. *Bādhavānāl*<sup>14</sup>, namely, the place of the fire, which even today is sucking the water of the seas and is preventing storms and will suck all waters on the day of Resurrection, is the heat and warmth of *mahā puras*' stomach, the rivers are the veins of *mahā puras* and, as

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<sup>1</sup> Vyāsa

<sup>2</sup> Mahāpurusa

<sup>3</sup> Pātāla

<sup>4</sup> Rasātala

<sup>5</sup> Mahātala

<sup>6</sup> Tālātala

<sup>7</sup> Sutala

<sup>8</sup> Vātala

<sup>9</sup> Ātala

<sup>10</sup> Kāla

<sup>11</sup> Parjanya devatā

<sup>12</sup> Bhūloka

<sup>13</sup> Sumeruparvata

<sup>14</sup> Vādhavānala

and rivers, are called *Sanag*<sup>1</sup> by the Indian doctors, which, in other words, is called *Bihisht* or *Jannat* (i.e. Paradise) (by the Muslims). Now the land, the river and the mountain which are below (all) lands, mountains and the rivers, are known as *narak*<sup>2</sup>, or *Dūzakḥ* and *Jahannam* that is Hell and the infernal fire. The Indian monotheists have held that the Heaven and the Hell are not beyond this very universe (of ours), which we call *Brahmānd* and (they further hold) that the seven skies which are the stations of the seven planets, do not revolve above Paradise but (rather) round it. The roof of Paradise is called *man akās*, that is 'Arsh', and its (i.e. Paradise) ground is called *Kurāsī*.

### XVIII DISCOURSE ON THE WORLD OF *Banzakh* (*Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection*)

Our Prophet, may peace be on him and salutation, has said 'Whosoever dies, verily there is resurrection for him.'

After death, *ātmā*, or soul having left the body of elements, enters, without any delay, the body of *mukṭ*, which is called *Sūkṣma Sāra*<sup>3</sup>. It is a fine body, formed by our action—good action having a good and bad action having a bad form. Now after "Question and Answer," (which will be made after death), those deserving of Paradise will be taken to Paradise, while those deserving of Hell to Hell, as stated in the Holy verse: "So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire, for them shall be sighing and groaning in it. Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases, surely thy Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends. And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden, abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as thy Lord pleases, a gift which shall never be cut off."<sup>4</sup>

Now, 'binging out of hell,' means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, He may, if He wishes, take out (the condemned person) from Hell and carry him to Paradise. In explaining this verse Ibn Mas'ūd<sup>5</sup>, may God be pleased with him, has said that "a period will come in the (life of) Hell when, after a long sojourn, no one will remain

<sup>1</sup> *Svarga*

<sup>2</sup> *Naraka*

<sup>3</sup> *Sūkṣma Sāra*

<sup>4</sup> *Kur'ān*, Ch XI 106 107 108

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd (Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd) (b. 28 before Hijra) was a well known companion of the Prophet. He was present at the battle of Badr. His death took place at al Madīna in 32 A.H.

inside it" And, "bringing out of Paradise", means that, before the destruction of the skies and the earths, God may, if He wishes, bring up its occupants to the High Paradise (*Firdaws i A'li*)—for His generosity is limitless. The following Holy verse is also a proof (of the above statement) *And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*"<sup>1</sup>—namely, that God has a Paradise which is larger than other Paradises.

The Indians call it *Barkunth*<sup>2</sup>, which in the opinion of the Indian monotheists is the greatest salvation.

### XIX DISCOURSE ON THE RESURRECTION (*Kiyāmat*)

The Indian monotheists have held that after a very long stay in Heaven or Hell, the *mahā parī*<sup>3</sup>, or the Great Resurrection, will take place, which (first) is also ascertainable from the Holy verse (of the *Kur'ān*) "*But when the Great Resurrection comes*"<sup>4</sup>. The following verse also speaks of the same, "*And the trumpet shall be blown so all those that are in the heavens and all those that are in the earth shall swoon except such as Allāh pleases*"<sup>5</sup>.

This (exception) refers to the group of *ʿārif*s (i.e. Knowers of God) who are immune from senselessness or thoughtlessness both in this and the next world. Now, after the upsetting of the skies, the destruction of the heavens and the hells and the completion of the age of *Barhmānd*, the occupants of Heaven and Hell will achieve *mukt*<sup>6</sup>, that is, both will be absorbed and annihilated in the Self of the Lord, as stated in the Holy verse "*Every one on it must pass away And there will endure forever the person of thy Lord, the Lord of glory and honour*"<sup>7</sup>.

### XX DISCOURSE ON *Mukt* (SALVATION)

*Mukt* means the annihilation and disappearance of determinations, in the Self of the Lord, as it appears from the Holy verse "*And best of all is Allāh's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement*"<sup>8</sup>.

Now, entrance into *Ridwān i-Akbar*, or the High Paradise, is a great salvation, called *mukt*. *Mukt* is of three kinds

<sup>1</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch IX 72

<sup>2</sup> *Varkuntha*

<sup>3</sup> *Mahapralaya*

<sup>4</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch LXXIX 34 Mawlana Muhammad Ali has translated, as 'the great predominating calamity' which he says may not necessarily refer to Resurrection

<sup>5</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch XXXIX 68

<sup>6</sup> *Mukt*

<sup>7</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch LV 26, 27

<sup>8</sup> *Kur'ān*, Ch IX 72

XIII DISCOURSE ON *Barhmānd*

By *Barhmānd* is meant "All" (*kuḷ*), which (term) applies to the determination of the Necessary Self in the shape of a round globe and, as it is not inclined towards or joined to any one its proportion to all is equal and every creation and exhibition takes place in its midst—hence the name *Barhmānd*, given to it by the Indian monotheists

XIV DISCOURSE ON THE DIRECTIONS (*Jihāt*)

The Muslim monotheists regard the East, the West, the North, the South, the top and the bottom as each a separate direction. Hence, according to them there are *six* directions, while according to the reckoning of the Indian monotheists there are *ten* directions (in all). They consider the space between the East, the West the North and the South as each a separate direction and, accordingly name them *daśa dīśhā*<sup>1</sup>

XV DISCOURSE ON THE SKIES (*Āsmānhā*)

According to the Indians, the skies, which are called *Gagan*<sup>2</sup>, are eight in number. Of these, seven are the stations of the seven planets, namely, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. In the Indian language, however, they are called the seven *nichattars*<sup>3</sup> that is, *sanīcchar*<sup>4</sup>, *brahspat*<sup>5</sup>, *mangal*<sup>6</sup>, *sūraj*<sup>7</sup>, *sukur*<sup>8</sup>, *budh*<sup>9</sup>, and *chandra māś*<sup>10</sup>. Now, the sky which contains all the fixed stars is regarded as the eighth and the learned men call this very sky 'the eighth sphere', or, 'the sphere of fixed stars' (*falaḥ i tharwābit*) while the Muhammadan religious doctors (*ahl i shar'*) designate it *Kursī* in their own phraseology (So runs the Holy verse) "His *Kursī* (throne) extends over the heavens and the earth"<sup>11</sup>

The ninth (sky), which is called *mahā akāś*<sup>12</sup>, has not been included in the (list of) skies, the reason being that it (i.e. *mahā akāś*) encircles all and even the *Kursī*, the skies and the earths are contained in it

XVI DISCOURSE ON THE EARTH (*Zamīn*)

According to the Indians, the earth has been divided into seven layers, called *Sapat tāl*<sup>13</sup>, each of which is named *atal*<sup>14</sup>, *batal*<sup>15</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> *Daśa dīśhā*      <sup>2</sup> *Gagana*      <sup>3</sup> *Nakṣatra*      <sup>4</sup> *Sunarscara*      <sup>5</sup> *Brharspati*  
<sup>6</sup> *Mangala*      <sup>7</sup> *Sūrya*      <sup>8</sup> *Sukra*      <sup>9</sup> *Budha*      <sup>10</sup> *Candramas*  
<sup>11</sup> *Kur ān*, Ch 11 255      <sup>12</sup> *Mahākāśa*      <sup>13</sup> *Sapta tala*      <sup>14</sup> *Atala*      <sup>15</sup> *Vitala*

*sutal*<sup>1</sup>, *talātāl*<sup>2</sup>, *mahātal*<sup>3</sup>, *rasātāl*<sup>4</sup>, and *pātāl*<sup>5</sup> According to the Muslims also the earth has seven (layers) as contained in the Holy verse ‘*Allāh is He who created seven heavens, and of the earth the like of them*’<sup>6</sup>

## XVII DISCOURSE ON THE DIVISIONS OF THE EARTH (*Kismat-i-Zamīn*)

The learned men have divided the inhabited globe into seven parts, designating them as the “seven spheres” (*Haft Iklim*), which the Indians name *sapatdīp*<sup>7</sup> They do not consider the seven spheres as the layers of an onion rather, they conceive them, as the steps of a ladder And, the seven mountains, which the Indians call *sapat kulāchal*<sup>8</sup>, are regarded by them as surrounding every sphere—their names being—(1) *Sumūn*<sup>9</sup> (2) *Sumūpat*<sup>10</sup>, (3) *Himākūt*<sup>11</sup>, (4) *Himavan*<sup>12</sup>, (5) *Nakadh*, (6) *Pānjātar*<sup>13</sup> and (7) *Karkās*<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, it is mentioned in the *Kur’ān* “*And the mountains are projections thereon*” (*i.e. on the earth*)<sup>15</sup>

Now round each of the seven mountains there are seven seas, which are surrounding each mountain They are called *Sapat Samundar*<sup>16</sup> their names being (1) *Lavan Samundar*<sup>17</sup>, or the sea of salt, (2) *Unchch ras samundar*<sup>18</sup>, or the sea of sugar candy, (3) *Surā Samundar*<sup>19</sup>, or the sea of wine, (4) *Ghrat Samundar*<sup>20</sup> or the sea of Ghee, (5) *Dadh Samundar*<sup>21</sup>, or the sea of curd, (6) *Khīr Samundar*<sup>22</sup>, or the sea of milk and (7) *Sawād jal*,<sup>23</sup> or the sea of pure water The fact that the seas are seven in number is ascertainable from the (following) verse of the *Kur’ān* ‘*And were every tree that is in the earth (made into) pens and the sea (to supply it with ink), with seven more seas to increase it the words of Allāh would not come to an end*’<sup>24</sup> Now, in every land, mountain and river, there is a variety of creation The land, the mountain and the river which are above all lands, mountains

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<sup>1</sup> <i>Sutala</i>	= <i>Talātala</i>	<sup>3</sup> <i>Mahātala</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>Rasātala</i>
<sup>5</sup> <i>Pātāl</i>	<sup>6</sup> <i>Kur’ān</i> , Ch. I XV 12		<sup>7</sup> <i>Saptadvīpa</i>
<sup>8</sup> <i>Sapta Kulācala</i>	<sup>9</sup> <i>Sumūn</i>	<sup>10</sup> <i>Sumūpat</i>	<sup>11</sup> <i>Himākuta</i>
<sup>12</sup> <i>Himavut</i>	<sup>13</sup> <i>Pānjātar</i>	<sup>14</sup> <i>Karkasa</i>	<sup>15</sup> <i>Kur’ān</i> Ch. LXXXVIII 7
<sup>16</sup> <i>Sapta Samudra</i>	<sup>17</sup> <i>Lavan Samudra</i>	<sup>18</sup> <i>Il ras Samudra</i>	
<sup>19</sup> <i>Surā Samudra</i>	<sup>20</sup> <i>Ghrta Samudra</i>	<sup>21</sup> <i>Dadh Samudra</i>	
<sup>22</sup> <i>Khīra Samudra</i>	<sup>23</sup> <i>Sawādjala</i>	<sup>24</sup> <i>Kur’ān</i> Ch. XXXI 27	

extant works 150 are known of which *Fuṣṣ ul Ḥikam*, the *Futūḥāt ul Makkīya* and the *Diwān* enjoy wide celebrity. He came to the East in 1201 A D and died at Damascus on November 16 1240 A D. See Browne *Literary History of Persia*, vol II, pp 497-501. *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees' edition, pp 633-645.

<sup>40</sup> Abul Jannāb Ahmad b Umar al Khwāḳi, commonly known as Shāh Nājmuḍḍin Kubrā was the celebrated mystic of Khwāḳizm. His title "Kubrā" is derived from the name of *al tāmmat ul Kubrā* or 'the supreme calamity' given him on account of his wonderful ability as a debater. He was killed during the sack of Khwāḳizm by the Mongols 618 A H = 1221. See Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II, pp 191-494. *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees' edition pp 480-487, *Safnat ul Auliyā* p 103-105.

<sup>41</sup> Abū Tālib (or Abū Hāmid) Muhammad b Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm better known as Farīduḍḍin Attār is the celebrated mystic poet. He is said to have composed 114 works but now only about 30 are extant. His *Tadhkirat ul Auliyā* is one of the most well-known biographies of Muslim saints and mystics. Various dates have been given of his death but the most acceptable of all is perhaps 627 A H. For his life see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II pp 506-515 and the valuable introduction to *Tadhkirat ul Auliyā* written by Muṣṣā Muhammad of Kazwin.

<sup>42</sup> Jalāluddīn Muhammad commonly called Jalāluddīn Rūmī the author of the celebrated *Mathnawī* was born at Balkh in 1207 A D. He had to leave his native country during his infancy and, after staying at several places settled at Kūmīya where he came in contact with that mystic of magnetic personality—Shams-i Tabrīz. Rūmī is also the author of a *Diwān* which is dedicated to the memory of his spiritual guide the well-known Shams-i Tabrīz. He died in February 1231. For his life see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II pp 515-525. *Nafahāt* p 409.

<sup>43</sup> Muḥmuddīn Muhammad Chishtī, who is considered by many as the greatest mystic of India was born in 537 A H = 1142 A D. Having travelled in Khurāsān, he came to Baghdād and thence to Dihli (598 A H = 1193) and finally to Ajmī, where he died in 633 = 1236. His tomb is visited every year by thousands of his votaries. He is the founder of the *Chishtī* order which finds the largest number of votaries in India. A lithographed *Diwān* popularly ascribed to him has been conclusively proved to be the work of Muḥmuddīn Miskīn, the famous preacher of Hirāt and author of *Ma'ānī un Nubuwwat*.

<sup>44</sup> Muhammad b Muhammad called Khwāja Bahāuddīn Naksband, the founder of the *Naksbandī* order was born at Bukhārā, in A H 728 = 1327 A D. His sayings were collected by one of his disciples a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum (Rien p 862). Bahāuddīn died in 791 A H = 1388 A D. See *Nafahāt* Nassau Lees' edition, pp 439-445. *Safnat ul Auliyā* pp 78-79.

<sup>45</sup> Khwāja Nāsuḍḍin Ubaidullāh Ahlī better known as Khwāja Ahlār, was born in 806 A H = 1403 A D. His life and teachings form the main topic of Ahl b Husayn al Wā'iz al Kāshif's *Ragḥahāt Am ul Hayāt* which records his death on the 20th of Rabī' I, 895 A H (= 1489 A D). See *Nafahāt* p 364.

<sup>46</sup> Nūruddīn Abdur Rahmān Jāmī the well known author of *Nafahāt ul Uns* and the last great classical poet of Persia, was born in a village in the district of Jām, on the 23rd Shabān, 817 A H = 7th November 1414 A D. He attended the courts of Sultān Abū Sa'īd and Sultān Husam Baykarā and died at Hirāt, on the 18th Muharram, 898 A H = 9th November, 1492 A D. Besides *Haft Awrang* and three Diwāns, *Ashkāt ul Lama'āt Arba' in Shawāhid in Nubuwwat* and other works on religious and Sūfistic subjects are also written by him. See K. B. 'Abdul Muktaḍir's *Catalogue of the O P Library* Bankipore vol II pp 32-90.

<sup>47</sup> Mir Muhammad b. Sā' in Dātā, commonly known as Miyān Mir or Miyān Jiv was born in A H 938. He came to Lahore and stayed there for about sixty years. He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shikūh. His death took place on the 7th Rabi' I 1045 A H, at the ripe old age of 107. Dārā Shikūh has written a work entitled *Sakinat ul Awliyā* dealing with the life of the saint and his disciples and has also given a notice of the life of the saint in his *Sajnat ul Awliyā*.

<sup>48</sup> He was one of the spiritual teachers of Dārā, and died on 15th Rabi' 1062, (*Hasanāt ul Arifin* pp 53-57).

<sup>49</sup> Mullā Shāh Muhammad b. Mullā Abd Muhammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisānullah, came from Badakhshān to Lahore in 1023 A H = 1614 A D and became a disciple of Miyān Mī, the great saint of the time. He was highly respected by Dārā Shikūh who was initiated by him into the *Kādmī* order in 1049 A H = 1639 A D. After the death of Miyān Mī (1045 A H) Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmir where he passed the remaining days of his life in a monastery built by Dārā Shikūh and his sister Jahān Arū. He died in 1072 A H = 1661-62 A D. Mullā Shāh was a voluminous writer and has left a *Diwān*, which has been lithographed besides several works on Sūfism. (For his life see *Sakinat ul Awliyā* pp 116-158).

<sup>50</sup> Shāikh Shāh Muhammad Dihlūbā is spoken of by Dārā Shikūh as one of his teachers (*Hasanāt ul Arifin* pp 59-61) and considered as 'unrivalled in *Fakr*, self suppression, religious exercises, retirement and singularity. Further he tells us that now a days (i.e., about 1064 A H) he has adopted a life of complete isolation and sees the face of none and speaks with visitors from behind the veil. Dārā records a number of very interesting sayings of the saint in his *Hasanāt ul Arifin* (pp 50-61).

<sup>51</sup> Shāikh Fayyib Saikhundī receives very scanty notice in the *Hasanāt ul Arifin* of Dārā Shikūh. There (p. 15 of the Urdu text), he is spoken of as a friend of Bābā Piyūnāy and as one who narrated several very interesting anecdotes of the Bābā. Beyond this, I have not been able to get any other information regarding the life of this Shāikh.

<sup>52</sup> Bāwā Lāl Banūgī was a Hindū saint who was held in high esteem by Dārā Shikūh. For his life and the conversations that he had with Dārā Shikūh see *Introduction*.



the founder of the Zāhirite School. Of his works *Qhulāt ul Wājidan* has been much appreciated by al Hujwiri (*Kashf*, p 136). He died in 303 A H = 914 A D. For further information refer to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 135-136. *Nafahāt* pp 96-98. *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson vol II, pp 61-67. *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol II p 1. *Safinat ul Awliyā*, p 110.

<sup>26</sup> Abū Sa'īd Ahmad b. Isā al Kharrāz was a disciple of Muhammad b. Mansūr at Tūs and a companion of Dhun Nūn Bishr and Sarī. Both according to Jāmi (*Nafahāt* p 75) and Hujwiri (*Kashf ul Mahjūb* p 143), Kharrāz was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (*fanā*) and subsistence (*bakā*). His followers are known as *Kharrāziyās* (see *Kashf* pp 241-246). It is said that he left 400 works on mysticism. He died in 286/287 A H = 900 A D. For further reference see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II, pp 40-45, *Khaznat ul Asfiyā*, vol II p 165. *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 141-145.

<sup>27</sup> Abul Husain Ahmad b. Muhammad an-Nūnī, was a companion of Junaid and a disciple of Sarī. He was also known by the name of Ibn al-Baghavī as his father hailed from Bagh dhūnī or Bagh dhūr (*Khazna* p 169) a city between Hīrāt and Maiv. Nūnī was born at Bagh dhūd and died in 295 A H = 907 A D. His followers are known as *Nūnīs* whose principal doctrine is to regard Sūfism (*taawwuf*) as superior to poverty (*fakr*). (See *Kashf* pp 189-195). For further information see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson, vol II pp 46-55. *Nafahāt* pp 80-81. *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 130-132. *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol II pp 169-171. *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 137-138.

<sup>28</sup> Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al Khawwās is the author of some excellent works on the ethics of Sūfism. According to some he was an inhabitant of Bagh dhūd and a companion of Nūrī and Junaid. He died in 291 A H = 903/904 A D. For further particulars see *Kashf ul Mahjūb* tr. Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 153-154. *Nafahāt* pp 137-139. *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 130, 137, *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol II pp 167-169.

<sup>29</sup> Abū Bakr b. Dulaf b. Jahdar ash-Shiblī or Dulaf b. Ja'far was the celebrated disciple of Junaid. According to Jāmi (*Nafahāt* N. Lees ed p 201) he was a Mālikī and learned the *Muwattā* by heart. He died in 331 A H = 943 A D at the age of 87. For further particulars refer to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 155-156. *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson Vol II, pp 160-182. *Safinat ul Awliyā*, pp 39-41. *Nafahāt* pp 174-178.

<sup>30</sup> See foot note on p 13.

<sup>31</sup> Abū Sa'īd Fadlullāh b. Abul Khair the celebrated Shaikh and author of mystic quatrains was born at Mahna a village in the district of Khāwarān on December 7 967 A D. According to the author of *Akhlāk i Jalālī*, he is said to have come in personal contact with Avicenna. He died on January 2 1049 A D. For further particulars see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol II, pp 281-289. *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, tr. Nicholson, (Gibb Memorial Series), pp 164-166. *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II pp 322-337. *Nafahāt* pp 277-282.

<sup>32</sup> Shaikh ul Islām Khwāja Abū Ismā'īl 'Abdullāh Ansārī the well known

author of the *Munājāt* or 'Supplications' and several other Sūfī works was born at Unāt on May 4 1006 A D. He delivered learned discourses at Hirāt on the life and teachings of the Sūfīs which were embodied in a book entitled *Tabakāt* ʿ *Abdullāh Ansārī* a copy of which is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Ivanow's Catalogue pp 78-83). Ansārī died in 1088 A D. For further particulars see Browne *Literary History of Persia* vol II, pp 269-270.

<sup>82</sup> *Shaykh* ul Islām Abū Naṣr Ahmad b. Abul Hasan al Jāmī surnamed *Zhandapī* was born in the district of Jām in A H 441 A H = 1049 A D. He is celebrated as a mystic and the author of some fourteen works on Sūfism of which only five are said to be extant. He also compiled a *Diwān* which has been lithographed several times in India. His death took place in 546 A H = 1141 A D. For further particulars see K. B. Abdul Mul tādīs *Catalogue of O P Library Banlupore* vol I pp 30-32.

<sup>83</sup> Muhammad Ma ḥjūk at Tūsī had according to *Kashf ul Mahjūb* "an excellent spiritual state and was aglow with love. According to Jāmī (*Nafahāt* p 284), Abū Sa'īd b. Abul Khair visited him with several of his companions. He was buried at Tūs. See *Nafahāt* pp 283, 284.

<sup>84</sup> *Shaykh* Ahmad al Ghazzālī the brother of the celebrated Imām al Ghazzālī, is the author of several Sufic religious works the principal among them being *Risāla* ʿ *Sawāmiḥ*. He died in 517 A H. See *Nafahāt* pp 336-347 *Safinat-ul Awḥyā* pp 102-103.

<sup>85</sup> Abul Kāsim b. Alī b. Abdullāh al Gurgānī was a contemporary of al Hujwī the author of *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, who records an instance of personal contact with the *Shaykh* (see *Kashf* pp 169, 170). He died in 450 A H. See *Nafahāt*, pp 282-283 *Safinat ul Awḥyā* p 75 *Khazina*, II, pp 7-8.

<sup>86</sup> Muḥiuddīn Abū Muhammad Abd al Kādī b. Abī Sālih Mūsā al Jili one of the greatest and most celebrated saints of Baghdad was born in 470 A H = 1077-1078 A D. He died in 561=1166 A D and the order of the *Kādīs* to which Dīrā *Shukūh* belonged owes its existence to him. Prof Margoliouth has given the salient points of his life in the *Encycl of Islam* vol I pp 41-42 see also *Nafahāt* N. Lees ed pp 586-590 and *Shams ul 'ulamā* M. Hidāyat Husam's *Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the Bihār Library Calcutta* p 132.

<sup>87</sup> Abū Madyan Shu'aib b. al Husain al Andalūsī was born at Cantillana (Kautnyāna), a village near Seville. According to Jāmī, Muḥiuddīn Ibn al Arabī received training at his hands. He died in 594=1197-1198 A D or in 590 A H = 1193 A D as recorded in *Nafahāt*. His Sūfistic doctrine may be summed up in the following verse which he is said to have often repeated, 'Say Allāh, and abandon all that is matter or is connected with it if thou desirest to attain the true goal.' *Encycl of Islam* vol I, p 99. See *Nafahāt* p 473 *Safinat ul Awḥyā* p 67.

<sup>88</sup> *Shaykh* Muḥiuddīn Ibn al 'Arabī was born at Murcia in Spain, on July 28 1165 A D. He is considered to be one of the greatest mystics of Islām. Of his

after his flight from Mecca (621 A D) For details see the *Encycl of Islam*, Vol I pp 357, 358

<sup>18</sup> *Tabi'īn* (or, "the followers") is in the language of the *Muhaddithīn*, or the traditionists the title of those persons who met and conversed with one of the companions (*ash'āb*) of the Prophet

<sup>19</sup> Uwais al Karani the famous mystic was a contemporary of Prophet Muhammad who as recorded in *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* had asked Umar and 'Alī to give him the Prophet's *munakka* to Uwais Accordingly 'Umar and Alī visited Uwais and gave him the cloak of the Prophet He died between A H 32 and 39 (cf *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol II, p 120) (For details see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 15-24 *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 83-84 *Safinat ul Awliyā*, pp 30-31 *Anwār ul Arifīn* by Muh Husain, pp 147-148)

<sup>20</sup> In certain texts the name of Hanbal is given Abū Abdullāh Ahmad b Hanbal known as Imām Hanbal the founder of the fourth school of Sunni Jurisprudence was born in A H 164 (= 780 A D) He was a favourite pupil of ash-Shāfi'i and enjoys considerable reputation as a traditionist and theologian He stubbornly refused to subscribe to the new faith of al Mūmūn that the Kur'ān was created and thereby seriously endangered his life His death took place at Baghdād in 241 A H (= 855 A D) and it is said that 800 000 men and 60 000 women attended his funeral (For details see *Ibn Khallīk* de Slane's translation vol I, p 44 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, Nicholson, vol I, pp 214-219 *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol I pp 61-66)

<sup>21</sup> Dhun Nūn Abul Fā'id b Ibrāhīm al Misrī whose real name was Thawbān was a pupil of Mālik b Anas He lived in Egypt and died at 'Hira, in 245 A H = 860 A D He is well known for his piety and sanctity, and Jāmi records several instances of his miraculous acts His fame however mostly rests on the fact that Sūfī doctrines were first explained and expressed by him (For details see *Nafahāt* pp 32-37 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 111-131 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 126-127 *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, tr Nicholson (Gibb Memorial Series) pp 100-103)

<sup>22</sup> Fudāl b Iyād with his *Kunya* Abū 'Alī was a native of Kūfa or as stated by some of *Khurāsān* He is a celebrated early mystic of Islām and died on the 2nd Rabī I 187 A H (= 803 A D) For further particulars see *Nafahāt* pp 38-39 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson vol I 74-85 *Safinat ul Awliyā*, pp 86-87 *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol I pp 228-235 *Siyar ul Arifīn* pp 24-29 *Kashf ul Mahjūb* pp 97-100

<sup>23</sup> Ma'rūf b Karkhī, with his *Kunya* Abū Mahfūz was the teacher of Sarī as Sakatī At first he was a magician but with his father Fīrūz or Fūzūz accepted Islām at the hands of Alī b Mūsā ar Ridā He died at Baghdād on the 2nd or the 8th Muharram A H 200 For further particulars regarding his life and teachings see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, ed Nicholson, vol I pp 269-274, *Nafahāt* pp 39-40 *Khaznat ul Asfiyā* vol I, pp 76-78 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 35-36

<sup>24</sup> Ibrāhīm b Adham b Mansūr b Yazīd b Jābir (Abū Ishāk) the famous mystic, was a native of Balḥ where he is said to have ruled as king but subse

quently due to some sudden impulse is reported to have abdicated and adopted the life of an ascetic. After his conversion to Sūfism Ibrāhīm went to Syria where he died between 160 and 166 A H (= 776-783 A D). For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 85-106 *Nafahāt*, pp 42-44 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol I pp 231-236 *Siyar ul I'tāb* pp 29-45 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 86-87

<sup>20</sup> Bishr b al Hāthib Abdur Rahmān Hāfi with his Kunya Abū Nasr is one of the early mystics of Islām. He was an inhabitant of Marv but passed most of his life at Baḥdād where he died (according to *Nafahāt* p 50) on the 10th Muharram 227 A H (= 842 A D). For details see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 106-114 *Nafahāt* pp 50-51 *Safinat ul Awliyā* p 124 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā*, vol II pp 137-138

<sup>21</sup> Sarī as Sakatī, with his Kunya Abul Hasan was a disciple of Ma'īf Kaikhi and the teacher of Junaid and other mystics of Baḥdād. He died (according to *Nafahāt* p 55) on the 3rd Ramadān 253 A H (= A D 868). For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 274-284 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol I pp 78-81, *Safinat ul Awliyā* p 36

<sup>22</sup> Abū Yazid Isfahārī b Isā b Ādam b Surūshān better known as Bāyazīd al Bisṭāmī was a great mystic of Bisṭām. He led the life of an ascetic and died in 261 A H (= 875 A D) or 264 (877-976 A D). His fame chiefly rests on his introducing the doctrine of *Fanā* in Muslim mysticism and is also reputed to be a "convinced pantheist". His followers are designated after him as *Tarfūriyya* or *Bisṭāmīyya*. For further particulars see *Nafahāt* pp 59-60 *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I pp 134-179 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā*, vol I pp 519-522 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 73-74

<sup>23</sup> Abul Kāsim b Muhammad b al Junaid al Kharrāz al Kawāṭiri also known as *Sayyid ul I'tifa* and *Tā'ūs ul Ulamā*, was a celebrated mystic of Baḥdād. He was a pupil of Abū Thawr who in his turn was a student of ash Shāfi'i. Junaid died at Baḥdād in 297 A H (= 910 A D) and was buried beside his uncle, the well known Sarī as Sakatī. His followers are called *Junaidis*. For further reference see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol II, pp 5-39 *Nafahāt* pp 81-83 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol I pp 81-86 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 37-39

<sup>24</sup> Abū Muhammad Sahl b Abdullāh b Yūnus a well known mystic, was born at Tustar (al Ahwāz) in 203 A H (= 818 A D). He was a disciple of Dhun Nūn al Misri and a companion of Muhammad b Sawā'ī his uncle. Sahl died in exile at Basra in 283 A H (= 896 A D). His 'thousand sayings' were collected by his pupil Muhammad b Sāhm (d. 297 A H = 909 A D). His followers are called *Sahlis*. For further particulars see *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā* ed Nicholson vol I, pp 251-268 *Kashf ul Mahjūb* to Nicholson pp 139-140 and 195-210 *Nafahāt* pp 69-71 *Khazinat ul Asfiyā* vol II pp 162-164 *Safinat ul Awliyā* pp 133-134

<sup>25</sup> Abū Muhammad Ruwaim b Yazid was a well known mystic of Baḥdād and a disciple of Junaid. In Jurisprudence he was a follower of Dā'ūd al Isfahāni

Seeing" <sup>1</sup> The former, i.e. "Nothing is like a likeness of Him," is a reference to His Purity (*tanẓīh*) and the latter, i.e. "He is the Hearing, the Seeing," is one to that of Resembling (*tashbīh*). This is the highest and the loftiest stage of Universality and Perfection which was reserved for that lord (Muhammad), Peace be on him. So, our Prophet has encompassed the whole world, from (the remotest corner of) the east to the (farthest end) of the west. Now Pure (*tanẓīh*) Apostleship is void of Resembling (*tashbīh*) Apostleship, while Resembling Apostleship (in its turn) is void of Pure Apostleship, but the "Uniting" (*ṭawḥīd*) Apostleship combines both *tanẓīh* and *tashbīh* Apostleships, is contained in the Holy verse: "He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things" <sup>2</sup> Similarly, Saintsship is limited to the perfect ones of the sect in whose praise God the Most High, has said: "You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men," <sup>3</sup> namely, they are the best of My followers who combine *tanẓīh* and *tashbīh*. Thus, in the time of our Prophet, May peace of God and salutation be on him there were, among the mystics, Abū Bakr <sup>4</sup> 'Umar, <sup>5</sup> 'Uthmān, <sup>6</sup> Ali, <sup>7</sup> Hasan <sup>8</sup> and Husam, <sup>9</sup> the Six *Bākī* (*Sitta* i *Bākīya*), the ten Congratulated (*ʿAshara* i *Mubashshara*) <sup>10</sup> and the great ones of the *muhājir*, <sup>11</sup> the *ansārs* <sup>12</sup> and the Sūfis

And in the time of the *Tābiʿīn* <sup>13</sup> there were (saints) like Uwais i Kārānī <sup>14</sup> and others, <sup>15</sup> and in another period saints like Dhun Nūn al Mīṣrī <sup>16</sup>, Fudail b. 'Iyād <sup>17</sup>, Ma'ūf i Karkhī <sup>18</sup>, Ibrāhīm Adham <sup>19</sup>, Bishr i Hāfi <sup>20</sup>, Sarrī as Sakātī <sup>21</sup>, Bāyẓid i Bistāmī <sup>22</sup>, Ustād Abul Kāsim Junaidī <sup>23</sup>, Sahl b. 'Abdullāh at Tustarī <sup>24</sup>, Ruwām <sup>25</sup>, Abū Sa'īd al Kharrāzī <sup>26</sup>, Abul Hasan an Nūnī <sup>27</sup>, Ibrāhīm Khawwās <sup>28</sup>, Abū Bakr Shībī <sup>29</sup>, Abū Bakr Wasitī <sup>30</sup> and others of their type. In another period there were Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair <sup>31</sup>, Shaikh ul Islām Khwāja Abdullāh Ansārī <sup>32</sup>, Shaikh Ahmad i Jām <sup>33</sup>, Muhammad Mu'ayyid Tūsī <sup>34</sup>, Ahmad Ghazzālī <sup>35</sup>, and Abul Kāsim Gurgānī <sup>36</sup>. In another period there were (saints) like my *pir* (spiritual guide) Shaikh Muhiuddin 'Abdul Kādir Jilānī <sup>37</sup>, Abū 'Uthmān al Maghribī <sup>38</sup>, Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn al 'Arabī <sup>39</sup>, Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā <sup>40</sup>, Shaikh Faizuddin 'Attār <sup>41</sup> and Mawlānā Jalāluddin Rūmī <sup>42</sup>. In another period there were Khwāja Mu'innuddin Chishtī, <sup>43</sup> Khwāja Bahāuddin Naqshband <sup>44</sup>, Khwāja Ahrī <sup>45</sup> and Mawlānā 'Abdur

<sup>1</sup> *Kur'ān*, Ch XLII 11

<sup>2</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch LVII 3

<sup>3</sup> *Kur'ān* Ch III 109

Rahmān Jāmī<sup>46</sup> In another period there were (saints) like my Shaikh, the second Junaid, Shāh Mir<sup>47</sup>, my teacher Miyyān Bārī<sup>48</sup> my Murshid Mullā Shāh<sup>49</sup> Shāh Muhammad Dihubā<sup>50</sup>, Shaikh Tayyib Sarhindi<sup>51</sup>, and Bāwā Lāl Bairāgi<sup>52</sup>

(Biographical Notes to Section XII)

<sup>4</sup> Abū Bakr Abdullāh (surnamed Atik) was the first orthodox Caliph who succeeded Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. He died on the 22nd Jamāda II 13 A.H. = 23rd August 634 and was buried beside the Prophet

<sup>5</sup> Umar b al Khattāb the second orthodox Caliph succeeded Abū Bakr in 13 A.H. (= 634 A.D.) He ruled over the countries of Islām for ten years and was assassinated in 23 A.H., (644 A.D.)

<sup>6</sup> Uthmān b Affān the third orthodox Caliph succeeded Umar on the 1st Muharram 24 A.H. = 7th November 644 A.D. and was assassinated by some conspirators on the 18th Dhul Hijja A.H. 35 = June 17th A.D. 656. He is called Dhun Nūaim or 'the possessor of two lights,' as he married two of the Prophet's daughters Rukayya and Ummi Kulthūm

<sup>7</sup> Ali b Abī Tālib was the fourth orthodox Caliph. He was a cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and was among the first few who embraced Islām. He became Caliph on the 25th Dhul Hijja 35 A.H. = June 23rd 656 A.D. and died on the 21st Ramadān 40 A.H. = 27 January, 661 A.D., as a result of wounds inflicted by Ibn Muljam. He is regarded by the Shi'as as the only lawful Caliph after the Prophet

<sup>8</sup> Hasan the eldest son of Ali and a grandson of Prophet Muhammad was born in 3 A.H. He succeeded Ali as Caliph in 40 A.D. and after a rule of about six months abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiyā. He was however, poisoned by his wife Jada in 49 A.H.

<sup>9</sup> Husain the second son of Ali and a grandson of Prophet (through Fātima) was born in 4 A.H. He was the rightful successor of Mu'āwiyā but the latter nominated Yazid his son as successor who slew Husain under the most tragic circumstances at Karbalā in 61 A.H. The martyrdom of Husain is mourned every year by the whole Muslim world and more specially, by the Shi'as from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram

<sup>10</sup> *Ashāra i Mubashshirun* or the ten who received the glad tidings is the title given to ten of the most eminent companions (*ashāb*) of the Prophet whose entry into Paradise was foretold by Muhammad. They are Abū Bakr, Umar, Uthmān, Ali, Talha b az Zuban, Abdur Rahmān Sa'd b Abī Wakkās, Sa'id b Zaid, Abū 'Ubayda b al Jarāh

<sup>11</sup> The *Muhājirun* is the title given to those believers who emigrated to Medina from Mecca

<sup>12</sup> *al Anṣār*, (lit the helpers) or more explicitly speaking, *Anṣār un Nabī*, is the title given to those 'believers of Medina who received and assisted the Prophet

they call *um*<sup>1</sup>, *Hū* (He) they call *sah*<sup>2</sup> and they designate *Ṭirishṭa* (i.e. angel) as *devatā*<sup>3</sup>, in their language. The perfect manifestation' (*mazhar i alam*) is called *awṭār*<sup>4</sup>, through whom the Majesty of God is manifested in such a way as would not be manifested in any other individual of his class, in that particular period. *Wahī* (Divine Revelation) which dawns on the Prophets, is called *akās bānī*<sup>5</sup>, and this name (*akās bānī*) is given to it for the reason that our Prophet, may peace be on him, has said the severest moment for me is that of *Wahī* (or, Divine Revelation), when I hear *Wahī* ringing in my ears like the sound of a bell or the buzzing of wasps, so this voice, descending from heaven, is called *akās bānī*. They call the Heavenly Books *Ved*, and the beautiful ones of the *gn̄s* (Genns), who are the *paris* are called *anchrānt*<sup>6</sup>, while the evil ones, who are the demons and the devils, are called *rāchas*<sup>7</sup>. *Manukh*<sup>8</sup>, according to them, are the human beings, while *rakhs*<sup>9</sup> is a mystic and *mahā sudh*<sup>10</sup>, an Apostle.

## XII DISCOURSE ON APOSTLESHIP AND SAINTSHIP (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*)

Apostles may be divided into three classes *first*, those who might have beheld God either with the outer or the inner eyes, *secondly*, those

<sup>1</sup> Om "O m a mystic monosyllable or ejaculation by Hindus which is supposed to be uttered in place of naming the Supreme Being. Hindus from its awful and sacred meaning hesitate to pronounce His name aloud, and place one of their hands before their mouths and say O m. A Brahman beginning or ending a lecture of the Veda (or the recital of any holy strain) must always pronounce to himself the syllable O m. From various passages in Asiatic Researches, Mr. Colebrooke and other authorities think it may be collected that A O M or A U M is interpreted to signify Brahman, the Supreme Being under his three great attributes of the creator the preserver and the destroyer the letters standing in succession for the attributes as they are described. O'm is also supposed to express the words of the gaytri a passage in the Veda which is imparted to the youthful Brahman at his initiation into the mysteries of his faith. O'm (A U M) is also imagined to be a monogram of the triad the initials of Aditi Varma, and Mitra." (*Cycl of India*, Vol. III p. 21)

<sup>2</sup> *Sah*                      <sup>3</sup> *Devatā*              <sup>4</sup> *Avatāra*

<sup>5</sup> *Ākāśavānī*              <sup>6</sup> *Apsaras*              <sup>7</sup> *Rakshas*              <sup>8</sup> *Manusya*              <sup>9</sup> *Rā*

<sup>10</sup> The word *Mahā Sudh* is phonetically equivalent to *Mahā Suddha* or, 'highly pure' which is hardly an epithet for an Apostle.

who might have heard the voice of God either sound only or sound, composed of words, *thirdly* those who might have seen the angels or heard their voice

Now, Apostleship and Saintsship is of *three* kinds (1) Pure (*tanzīh*) Apostleship, (2) Resembling (*tashbīh*) Apostleship and (3) a combination of Pure and Resembling Apostleships

*First*, Pure (*tanzīh*) Apostleship, like which was the Apostleship of Noah, May peace be on him who beheld God in purity (*tanzīh*) and invited people (to embrace his religion) but, except a few, they did not accept his faith, on account of his (*tanzīh*) ('pure beholding'), and (as a result), were sunk in the ocean of destruction. Similarly, the divines of our day invite disciples to a 'pure beholding' of God but none of those disciples ever attains the stage of an 'Arif, nor is he benefited by their discourses and, dying on the way of *Sulūk* (Journey) and *Tarīkat* (Path)<sup>a</sup> never reaches God

*Secondly*, Resembling (*tashbīh*) Apostleship, like the Apostleship of Moses, May peace be on him who saw God Himself in the fire of the tree and heard words from the clouds. A large section of the followers of Moses, having become Anthropomorphists, began worshipping the cow and committed sin. Now a days, some of our followers (*mukallidīn*) whose only profession in life is (blind) following, having fallen aside from purity (*tanzīh*), have been sunk in Anthropomorphism, and, as such indulge in seeing handsome and attractive faces and pass their time) in playing and toying. One should never follow such persons

#### Verses

"Every heart attracting face that thou beholdest,  
The sky will soon remove it from before thy eyes,  
Go, and give thy heart to one, who in the circle of existence,  
Has remained always with thee and will so continue to be"

*Thirdly* a combination of Pure (*tanzīh*) and Resembling (*tashbīh*) Apostleships, like the Apostleship of Muhammad, May peace be on him and salutation, who joined together the Absolute (*mutlak*) and the Determined (*mukayyad*), the Colourless and the coloured, the Near and the Distant. There is a reference to this very dignity, in the Holy verse "Nothing is like a likeness of Him, and He is the Hearing, the



meaning and wording of the tradition—in which ‘Ā’ishā Siddīka<sup>1</sup> asked Prophet (Muhammad), Peace be on him, “Didst thou behold thy Lord?” to which the Prophet replied, “It is Light that I am beholding”—have read it as *نور الى ارادة* “It is Light, how can I behold it?” But this (tradition) cannot be an argument against beholding God, for if we put the former interpretation it will refer to His “complete beholding” (*nūyat i lām*) in the veil of Light but, if we interpret it as, ‘It is Light, how can I behold it?’ it will refer to His Pure and Colourless Self. So, it is not a difference in the context but rather a manifestation of the miracle of (our) Prophet who has explained two problems in one tradition. And the Holy verse “(Some) faces on that day shall be bright, Looking to their Lord”<sup>2</sup> is a clear argument in favour of *nūyat* (Beholding), of our Lord Exalted in His Dignity, (while) the verse ‘*Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision and He is the knower of subtleties, the Aware*’<sup>3</sup> refers to his colourlessness, that is, the eye cannot behold Him in his Colourless and Absolute capacity, although He beholds all and possesses extreme elegance and colourlessness. And, the word *huwa* (He), found in the above Holy verse, refers to the invisibility of His Pure Self. Now the beholding of God is of five kinds *first*, in dream with the eyes of heart, *secondly*, beholding Him with the ordinary eyes, *thirdly*, beholding Him in an intermediate state of sleep and wakefulness, which is a special kind of Selflessness, *fourthly*, (beholding Him) in (a stage of) special determination, *fifthly*, beholding the One Self in the multitudinous determinations of the internal and external worlds. In such a way beheld our Prophet, may peace be on him, whose ‘self’ had disappeared from the midst and the beholder and the beheld had merged in one and his sleep wakefulness and selflessness looked as one and his internal and the external eyes had become one unified whole—such is

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<sup>1</sup> Ā’ishā, the favourite wife of the Prophet, was born between 613 and 614 A.D. She was the daughter of Abū Bakī, the first Caliph, and was married to the Prophet in 623 A.D. She died on the 17th Ramadān, 68 A.H., 13th July, 678 A.D. ‘Ā’ishā occupies a prominent place amongst the most distinguished traditionists. 1210 traditions are recorded as having been reported by her direct from the mouth of the Prophet. She was often consulted on theological and judicial subjects’ (*Encycl. of Islam* Vol. I pp. 216-217)

<sup>2</sup> *Ku’ān* Ch. LXXV. 22, 23

<sup>3</sup> *Ku’ān*, Ch. VI. 104

the state of perfect *rūyat*<sup>1</sup> (Beholding), which is not confined either to this or the next world and is possible everywhere and at every period

# XI DISCOURSE ON THE NAMES OF GOD, THE MOST HIGH (*Asmā Allāh Ta'ālā*)

Know that the names of God, the Most High are numberless and beyond comprehension. In the language of the Indian divines, the Absolute, the Pure, the Hidden of the hidden and the Necessary Self is known as *asan*<sup>2</sup> *triṅgun*<sup>3</sup> *nirankār*<sup>4</sup> *nirāṅjan*<sup>5</sup> *sat*<sup>6</sup> and *chit*<sup>7</sup>. If knowledge is attributed to Him, the Indian divines designate Him as *chitan*<sup>8</sup>, while the Muslims call Him '*Alīm* (Knowing). For *Al Hak* (the Truth) they have (the word) *anant*<sup>9</sup>, for *Kādm* (the Powerful) they have *samarth*<sup>10</sup> for *Samī* (the Hearer) they have *samūtā*<sup>11</sup> and for *Basir* (the Beholder) they have *drashtā*<sup>12</sup>. If spirit is attributed to that Absolute Self, they call Him *waktā*<sup>13</sup>, *Allāh* (God)

<sup>1</sup> Dārā Shikūh has discussed in some detail, the question of *Rūyat* or the vision of God, in his *Sakinat ul Awliyā*, pp 60-66. He has quoted many authorities in support of his argument, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. I may however give a brief summary of the introductory remarks made by Dārā Shikūh.

One day I asked Miyyān Jiv that it is stated in *Nihāya i Jazari* that Ibn i Shakkil told Abū Dhar i Ghaffār: Had I seen Prophet Muhammad I must have asked him as to whether he saw God or not. Abū Dhar i Ghaffār replied I had enquired of Prophet, but he replied '*Nū un anna anāhu*' i.e. He is Light I cannot see Him anyhow. But mind that verbal play (*Taynis i Khatti*) in the above sentence for, it may also mean, It is light that I am beholding.

Now Hadrat Miyyān Jiv told Dārā Shikūh that if the first interpretation is put on the words of the Prophet, then it will refer to the Pure Self and such beholding is an impossibility even for the Prophets but if the second interpretation is put, then it means that He can be seen when he descends and appears in veil or guise. Dārā Shikūh has summed up his views on the subject of *Rūyat* in the following quatrain which I quote from his *Sakinat ul Awliyā* (p 61)

Those who will behold God in that (Future) time,

Know that at first they behold Him in this world

The vision of God is identical whether in this or the next (world),

Every moment they see Him, open and secretly "

<sup>2</sup> *Asanga* (?)

<sup>3</sup> *Triṅguna*

<sup>4</sup> *Nirākāra*

<sup>5</sup> *Nirāṅjana*

<sup>6</sup> *Sattva*

<sup>7</sup> *Chit*

<sup>8</sup> *Cetana*

<sup>9</sup> *Ananta*

<sup>10</sup> *Samartha*

<sup>11</sup> *Srotā*

<sup>12</sup> *Drashtā*

<sup>13</sup> *Vyakta*

ed, says, in defining soul, that the 'glass' of soul is so luminous that it need not be touched with the fire of the Human World (*nā' i nāsūt*) and it is imminent that, on account of its inherent potency, it may, automatically, be illumined. This light of *Zait* (olive oil) is "light upon light" (*nūr un 'alā nūr*), which signifies that, on account of its extreme purity and brightness, it is light full of light, and no one can behold Him with this light, unless He guides (and directs) him with the Light of His unity. So the main purport of a combination of all these verses is that God, the Most High and Holy, is manifest, with the Light of His Essence, in elegant and refulgent curtains and there is no veil or darkness concealing Him. Now, the Light of (His) Essence is manifest in the curtain of Soul of Souls (*Abul Awwāl*), the Soul of Souls in the curtain of Soul (*Rūh*) and the Soul in the curtain of Body—(exactly) in the manner in which the 'lamp' is luminous and manifesting itself within the cover of 'glass', the glass being placed in a niche (*tākhcha*), deriving its illumination from the Light of His Essence and thus adding light to light (*nūr un 'alā nūr*).

#### X DISCOURSE ON THE VISION OF GOD (*Rūyat*)

The Indian monotheists call the Vision of God, *Sāchātkār*<sup>1</sup>, that is, to see God with the (ordinary) eyes of the forehead. Know that the Vision of God, either by the Prophets, may peace be on them, or by the perfect divines, may their souls be sanctified, whether in this or the next world and whether with the outer or the inner eyes cannot be doubted or disputed, and the "men of the Book" (*ahl i kitāb*), the perfect divines and the seers of all religions—whether they are believers in the Kur'ān, the Vedas, the Book of David or the Old and the New Testaments—have a (common) faith in this respect. Now, one who disbelieves the beholding of God is a thoughtless and sightless member of his community, the reason being if the Holy Self is Omnipotent, how can He not have the potency to manifest Himself? This matter has been explained very clearly by the 'Ulamā of the Sunni Sect. But, if it is said, that (even) the Pure Self (*dhāt i baht*) can be beheld, it is an impossibility, for the Pure Self is elegant and undetermined, and, as He cannot be determined, He is manifest in the veil of elegance only, and as such cannot be beheld, and such beholding is an impossibility. And the sug

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<sup>1</sup> *Sākshātkār*

gestion that He can be beheld in the next and not in this world, is groundless, for if He is Omnipotent, He is potent to manifest Himself in any manner anywhere and at any time He likes (I hold) that one who cannot behold Him here (i.e., in this world) will hardly behold Him there (i.e. in the next world), as He has said in the Holy verse ' *And whoever is blind in this he shall (also) be blind in the hereafter* ' <sup>1</sup>

The *Mu'tazila*<sup>2</sup> and the *Shi'a*<sup>3</sup> doctors, who are opposed to *rūyat* (Beholding), have committed a great blunder in this matter for had they only denied the capability of beholding the Pure Self, there would have been some justification, but their denial of all forms of *rūyat* (i.e. Beholding) is a great mistake, the reason being that most of the Prophets and perfect divines have beheld God with their ordinary eyes and have heard His Holy words without any intermediary and, now, when they are, by all means capable of hearing the words of God, why should they not be capable of beholding Him? Verily, they must be so, and, just as it is obligatory to have faith in God, the Angels, the (revealed) Books, the Prophets, the Destiny, the Good and the Evil, and the Holy Places, etc., so it is obligatory and incumbent to have faith in *rūyat* (Beholding) The unversed Sunni '*Ulamā* who have disputed the

<sup>1</sup> *Kur ān*, Ch XVII 72

<sup>2</sup> '*Mu'tazila* (lit. the separatists) a sect of Muhammadans founded by Wāsil ibn Atā who separated from the school of Hasan al Basri (A.H. 110) The following are their chief tenets They entirely reject all eternal attributes of God They believe the word of God to have been created in subjects They deny all vision of God in Paradise by the corporeal eye and reject all comparisons and similitudes applied to God During the reigns of the Abbaside Khalifas al Māmūn, al Mu'tasim and al Wāthiq (A.H. 198-228) at Baghdad the *Mu'tazila* were in great favour' (Hughes *Dictionary of Islam* p 425)

<sup>3</sup> *Shi'a* (lit. followers) is the name given to the followers of 'Alī and his descendants through Fatima the daughter of Prophet Muhammad They consider Abū Bakr 'Ummī and 'Uthmān, the first three orthodox Caliphs as usurpers and regard Alī and his eleven descendants as the only rightful *Imāms* or *Khalifas* They are also called *Imānā ashkariya* or *twelveans* as they believe in twelve Imāms, namely Alī al Hasan, al Husain Alī, surnamed Zain ul Ābidin, Muhammad al Bākir Ja'far as Sādik Mūsā al Kāzim, ar Ridā Muhammad at Tāki, 'Alī an Nakī, al Hasan al 'Askari Muhammad al Mahdī (who is supposed to re appear before the day of judgment)

eternal and is (also) the source of the perception of *maḥā akāś*, but this sound is mandible to all, except the great saints of both the communities. Secondly, *Āhat*<sup>1</sup>, or the sound which originates from the striking of one thing against another, without its (i.e. sound's) combination into words. Thirdly, *Sabd*<sup>2</sup>, or the sound which emanates together with its formation into words. *Sabd* possesses an affinity with *Sarastī* and is (further) the source of *Ism* i *A'zam*<sup>3</sup> (or, the Great name) of the Musalmāns and the *Bidmukh*<sup>4</sup>, or *Om*<sup>5</sup>, of the Hindu divines. *Ism* i *A'zam* means that He is the possessor of the three attributes of Creation, Preservation and Destruction, and *Fatha*, *Dhamma* and *Kasīa*, which correspond with *akāś*<sup>6</sup>, *wukā*<sup>7</sup> and *maḥār*<sup>8</sup> have also originated from this (i.e. *Ism* i *A'zam*). They (i.e. the Indian divines) assign a special symbol to this sound, which bears a close resemblance to our *Ism* i *A'zam* and, in which, traces of the elements of water, fire, air and dust and of the Pure Self are manifest.

#### IX DISCOURSE ON LIGHT (*Nūr*)

Light (*nūr*) is of three kinds, if it is manifested with the attribute of *Jalāl* (Majesty), it is either sun coloured, ruby coloured, or fire coloured and, if manifested with the attribute of *Jamāl* (Beauty), it is either moon coloured, pearl coloured or water coloured and (lastly) comes the Light of the Essence which is devoid of all (such) attributes, and is not manifested to any one, except the Holy men in whose favour God (the Most High and Holy) has declared "Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases"<sup>9</sup>

This is the Light which appears (at the time) when a man, either in sleep or with the eyes closed, neither beholds anything with his eyes nor hears with his ears nor speaks with his tongue nor smells with his nose nor feels with his sense of touch, and, as a matter of fact, performs all these functions in sleep, with only one faculty and does not require the aid of, either the limbs, the external faculties or the light of a lamp, and the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch

<sup>1</sup> *Āhata*

<sup>2</sup> *Sabda*

<sup>3</sup> *Ism* i *A'zam* literally means the great name and undoubtedly refers to one out of the ninety nine names of God but as to which of them in particular it refers is unsettled. Some identify it with *al Hayy ul Kayyūm* and others with *ar Raḥmān* and *ar Raḥīm*.

<sup>4</sup> *Veda mukha*

<sup>5</sup> *Om* (see foot note on p. 18)

<sup>6</sup> *Ākāśa*

<sup>7</sup> *Ukārā*

<sup>8</sup> *Maḥārā*

<sup>9</sup> *Kun ān* Ch. XXIV 35

become merged in one—such is the Light of Essence, or, in other words, the Light of God Exalted is His Dignity! O my friend! reflect on what I have said, as it is a matter of discernment and meditation. And, the Prophet of God may His blessings and peace be on him, has said in praise of this reflection that, “A moment’s engagement in meditation is better than the devotion of a whole year”<sup>1</sup> i.e., of the human beings and the fairies. Now, the ‘Light’ discernible from the Holy verse “*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earths*,”<sup>2</sup> is called *ḡun surūp*<sup>3</sup>, *savāparakās*<sup>4</sup>, and *sapanparakās*<sup>5</sup> by the Hindus, which (Light) is always effulgent by itself, whether appearing in the world or not. Accordingly, the Sūfis have explained *nūr* (Light) by the word *munawwār* (Illumed), and the Hindus also have explained in the same manner. The Holy verse on this point is, as follows: “*Allāh is the light of the heavens and the earth, a likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, (and) the glass is as it were a brightly shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree neither eastern nor western the oil whereof almost gives light though fire touches it not—light upon light—Allāh guides to His light whom He pleases*”<sup>6</sup>

But, what this *ḡakīr* has understood, (from the above mentioned verse), is that *Mishkāt* (or niche) applies to the world of bodily existence, *Misbāh* (or, the lamp) to the Light of the Essence and *Shīsha* (or glass) to the (human) soul which is like a shining star and that, on account of this lamp (*misbāh*), the *Shīsha* (or, glass) also appears like a lamp (or *Misbāh*). And “*That lamp is lit*,” applies to the Light of the Essence, while the “*Sacred tree*” (*Shajar-i Mubārak*) refers to the Self of the Truth, Holy and Exalted is He, who is free from the limitations of the East and the West. By *Zant* (olive oil) is meant “the Great Soul” (*Rūh-i A‘zam*), which is neither of Eternity past nor of Eternity to come, in that the *Zant* is luminous and resplendent by itself, for the reason that it possesses great elegance and purity and does not require to be lighted. Consequently, Ustād Abū Bakr Wāsitī<sup>7</sup>, may he be bless-

<sup>1</sup> *Hadīth*. Dārā has quoted this *Hadīth* on p. 52 of his *Sakinat ul Awliyā*

<sup>2</sup> *Kur ān*, Ch XXIV 35

<sup>3</sup> *Jyotiḥ Svarūpa*

<sup>4</sup> *Svaparakāśa*

<sup>5</sup> *Svaprapāśa*

<sup>6</sup> *Kur ān* Ch XXIV 35

<sup>7</sup> Muhammad b. Mūsā called Abū Bakr al Wāsitī, was a companion of Junaid and Nūr. He died at Marv sometime before 320 A.H. According to *Shāikh ul Islām* he was the *Imām* of *Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity). See *Nafahāt* pp. 170-171 and *Tadhkirat ul Awliyā*, (edited by R. A. Nicholson), pp. 265-281

*Sakhūpat*<sup>1</sup> and *Tuwayā*<sup>2</sup> (Of these), (1) *Jāgarat* is identical with *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World), which is the world of manifestation and wakefulness (2) *Sapan*, which is identified with *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World), is the world of souls and dreams, (3) *Sakhūpat* is identical with *Jabarūt* (or the Highest World), in which the traces of both the worlds disappear and the distinction between "I" and "Thou" vanishes—whether you see it with your eyes open or closed. There are many devotees of both the communities who have no information regarding this world. Accordingly, Sayyid ut tā'ifa, Ustād Abul Kāsim,<sup>3</sup> (May his soul rest in sanctity) has informed us that he said, "*Tasawwuf* consists in sitting for a moment without an attendant." The *Shaykh* ul Islām<sup>4</sup> asked "What does 'without an attendant' mean?" He explained ' (It means) finding without seeking and beholding without seeing, for the (employment of) eyes in beholding (God) is an infirmity. So 'sitting without an attendant' means that the marks of the Human World ('*ālam i nāsūt*) and of the Invisible World ('*ālam i malakūt*) may not enter the mind (of the beholder)'. And, Mawlānā i Rūm, (May God hallow his grave), has also hinted at the same point

"If thou desirest to find him, then do not seek for a moment  
(And) if thou wishest to know Him then do not know for a moment

When thou seekest Him secretly thou art far from His manifestation,

And when thou seekest Him openly, thou art hidden from His secrets

<sup>1</sup> *Susupti*

<sup>2</sup> *Tuwaya*

<sup>3</sup> Abul Kāsim b. Muhammad b. al Junaid al Kharrīz al Kawābirī the great mystic of Baghdad was a nephew of Sa'ī as Sakatī and a pupil of ash Shāfi'. He died at Baghdad in 297 A.H. (910 A.D.) See Jāmi's *Nafahāt* p. 81. The saying ascribed here to Junaid is quoted with *Shaykh* ul Islām's explanation, on p. 82 of Jāmi's *Nafahāt*. It appears that Dārā himself considered the above 'saying' as very important, for in three of his works i.e. *Risāla i Hal Nūmū* (p. 21), *Hasanāt ul A'raf* (fol. 18 b of A.S.B. copy No. III 10) and *Sakinat ul Awliyā* (p. 16 of Urdu translation), he quotes that in full.

<sup>4</sup> *Shaykh* ul Islām Abū Ismā'il Abdullah b. Muhammad al Anṣārī al Halawī was born on the 2nd Sha'bān 396 A.H. (1006 A.D.) He is the author of several Sūfi works but his fame mainly rests on his extremely popular *Munājāt*. His lectures on the life and doctrines of the Sūfis, which were embodied in a book and entitled *Tabakāt i Abdullāh An ṣārī* form one of the main sources of Jāmi's *Nafahāt*. (For details see J.A.S.B. 1922 pp. 385-391). He died in 481 A.H. (1088 A.D.)

And when thou comest out of the hidden and the manifest  
so, undoubtedly,

Stretch thy legs and sleep comfortably in His protection

(Now) (4) *Turiyā* is identical with *Lāhūt*, (or, the World of Divinity), which is (identical with) Pure Existence encircling, including and covering all the worlds. If a person journeys from the *Nāsūt* (or, the Human World) to the *Malakūt* (or, the Invisible World) and from *Malakūt* to the *Jabarūt* (or the Highest World) and from this last to the *Lāhūt* (or, the World of Divinity), this will be considered as a progress on his part. But if the Truth of Truths, whom the Indian monotheists call *avastan*<sup>1</sup>, descends from the stage of *Lāhūt* (or Divinity) to that of *Malakūt* (Invisibility) and thence to *Jabarūt* (or, the Highest Heaven), His journey terminates in *Nāsūt* (or, the World of Humanity). And the fact that certain Sūfis have described the stages of descent as four while others as five, is a reference to this (very) fact

### VIII DISCOURSE ON SOUND (*Āwz*)<sup>ā</sup>

Sound emanates from the same breath of the Merciful which came out with the word *Kun*<sup>2</sup>, (or, Be), at the time of the creation (of the universe). The Indian divines call that sound *Sarasī*, which, (they say), is the source of all other sounds, voices, and vibrations

‘Wherever thou hearest it is His melodious voice

Who has, after all, heard such a rolling sound?’

According to the Indian monotheists, this sound, which is called *Nād*, is of three kinds. First, *Anāhāt*,<sup>3</sup> which has been in Eternity Past, is so at Present, and will be so in Future. The Sūfis name this sound *Āwā*, or *Mullak* (or, the sound of the Absolute), or *Sultān ul Adhḥkār*<sup>4</sup> (i.e. the Sultān of all devotional exercises). This (sound) is

<sup>1</sup> *Avastāna* (ultimate)

<sup>2</sup> According to Muhammadan belief, the world owes its origin to the Will of God which was expressed by the word *Kun* or, Be. So runs the Holy verse: *Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth and when He decrees an affair He only says to it, Be so there it is* (*Kun’ān* Ch II 117)

<sup>3</sup> *Anāhāt*

<sup>4</sup> *Sultān ul Adhḥkār*—Among the Sūfis there is a peculiar exercise of the ‘turbation of the breath’ called *Sultān ul Adhḥkār*. It is said to be even more difficult than *Shaghl* or *Pās* or *Anfās* which has been discussed before



according to Indian devotees, there are three attributes (of God), collectively called *trigun*<sup>1</sup>, or *sat*<sup>2</sup>, *rajas*<sup>3</sup> and *tam*<sup>4</sup> which mean Creation, Duration, and Destruction, the Sūfis (on the other hand), viewing, and accepting the quality of Duration as the attribute of Beauty (or, *Jamāl*) But as these attributes are included in one another, the Indian devotees name them *trīmūrat*<sup>5</sup>, or *Barhmā*<sup>6</sup>, *Bishun*<sup>7</sup> and *Mahīsh*<sup>8</sup>, who are identical with *Jibrā'il*, *Mikā'il* and *Isrā'īl* of Sūfi phraseology. *Barhmā*, or *Jibrā'il*, is the (superintending) angel of Creation, *Bishun*, or *Mikā'il*, is the angel of Duration (or Existence) *Mahīsh*, or *Isrā'īl* is the angel of Destruction. Now, water, wind and fire are also allied with these (superintending) angels—thus water goes with *Jibrā'il* fire with *Mikā'il* and air with *Isrā'īl* and these three things (i.e. water, fire and air) are manifest in all living beings. Thus, *Barhmā* who appears as the water (or moisture) of the tongue, is the cause of Divine utterance and is (further) the source of the power of speech, *Bishun*, who is (like) fire in the eyes is the source of light, refulgence and eye sight, *Mahīsh*, who is the air in the nostrils, is instrumental in creating the two blowing horns, namely the two breaths which, if cut off (or stopped), lead to death.

Now, *trigun*, which constitutes the three Divine attributes of Creation, Duration and Destruction, is manifested through *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh*, whose attributes (in their turn) are manifest in all the creations of the world. (Thus), when a creature is born, it lives for an appointed period and then it is annihilated. *Shakti*, or the potential power of the (above) three attributes is called *trīdīvī*<sup>9</sup>. Now *trīmūrat*<sup>10</sup> gave birth to *Barhmā*, *Bishun* and *Mahīsh*, while *trīdīvī* was the mother of these three. *Sarasvati*<sup>11</sup>, *Pārvatī*<sup>12</sup> and *Lakṣmī*<sup>13</sup> (Of the latter) *Sarasvati* is connected with *Rajūgun*<sup>14</sup> and *Barhmā*, *Pārvatī* with *Tamūgun*<sup>15</sup> and *Mahīsh* and *Lakṣmī* with *Satūgun*<sup>16</sup> and *Bishun*.

## V DISCOURSE ON THE SOUL (Rūh)

The soul is of two kinds (i) a (common) soul and (ii) the Soul of souls (4bul *Arwāk*), which are called *ātma* and *paramātmā*, respectively, in the

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1 <i>Triguna</i>	2 <i>Sattva</i>	3 <i>Rajas</i>	4 <i>Tamas</i>
5 <i>Trīmūrti</i>	6 <i>Brahmā</i>	7 <i>Vishnu</i>	8 <i>Maheshvara</i>
9 <i>Tridevi</i>	10 <i>Trīmūrti</i>	11 <i>Sarasvati</i>	12 <i>Pārvatī</i>
13 <i>Lakṣmī</i>	14 <i>Rajoguna</i>	15 <i>Tamoguna</i>	16 <i>Satvaguna</i>

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phraseology of the Indian divines. When the 'Pure Self' (*Dhāt* & *Baht*) becomes determinate and fettered either in respect of purity or in purity, He is known as *ruh* (soul), or *ātmā* in His elegant aspect and *jasd* (body), or *sarī*,<sup>1</sup> in His in elegant aspect. And the self that was determined in Eternity Past is known as *Rūh* & *A'zam* (or the Supreme Soul) and is said to possess uniform identity with the Omniscient Being. Now, the Soul in which all the souls are included is known as *paramātmā* or *Abul-Arwāh* (i.e. the Soul of Souls). The inter relation between water and its waves is the same as that between body and soul or as that between *sarī* and *ātmā*. The combination of waves in their complete aspect, may (very aptly) be likened to *Abul Arwāh* or *paramātmā* while water only is (just) like the August Existence or *sudh*<sup>2</sup> or *chitan*.

#### VI DISCOURSE ON THE AIR (*Bād*)

As the air, which moves within the human body, remains in five places, so, it has got five names, namely *parān*,<sup>4</sup> *apān*,<sup>5</sup> *samān*,<sup>6</sup> *udān*<sup>7</sup> and *vayān*.<sup>8</sup> (1) *Parān* which is the movement of air from the nostrils up to the toes, possesses the characteristic of breathing. (2) *Apān*, whose movement is from the buttocks up to the special organ, is enclosing the navel, and is moreover, the cause of life. (3) *Samān* moves inside the breast and the navel. (4) *Udān* moves from the throat up to the top of the brain (or, the *dinamater*). (5) (Lastly), *Vayān*, (is that air) which is penetrating everything, whether manifest or hidden.

#### VII DISCOURSE ON THE FOUR WORLDS (*‘Āwālim* & *Arba’a*)

According to certain Sūfis, the worlds, through which all the created beings must needs pass, are four in number, (that is), *Nāsūt* (the Human World), *Malakūt* (the Invisible World), *Jabarūt* (the Highest World) and *Lāhūt* (the Divine World) but according to others, they are five in all—the World of Similitude (*‘ālam* & *mithāl*) being added to them. And those who consider the world of Similitude as identical with the Invisible world, regard them (i.e. the worlds) as consisting of four only. According to the Indian divines the *Avasthāt*,<sup>9</sup> which term applies to these four worlds, consists of four (only), namely, *Jāgati*<sup>10</sup> *Supan*,<sup>11</sup>

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1 *Sarīra*      2 *Suddha*      3 *Cetana*      4 *Parāna*      5 *Apāna*      6 *Samāna*  
7 *Udāna*      8 *Vyāna*      9 *Avasthātman*      10 *Jāgati*      11 *Supana*

of *paramātmā* for the reason that it possesses *māyā*, which in their phraseology, is the name given to 'love' <sup>1</sup> Now *Ahankār* again is subdivided into three *Sātag Rājas*,<sup>2</sup> and *Tāmas* <sup>3</sup> First, *Ahankār Sātag*, or *Gayān Suiūp*,<sup>4</sup> is the high stage when *param ātmā* सत्य "Whatever there is is I"—such is the stage of complete encircling of everything 'Now surely He encompasses all things' <sup>5</sup> Another (Holy Verse) says *He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (over all) and the Knower of hidden things*,"<sup>6</sup> Secondly, *Ahankār Rājas*, is *maddhīm* <sup>7</sup> namely the middle stage when (a religious devotee) having fixed his eyes on *iv ātmān*<sup>8</sup> says "My self is free from (the limitations of) body and elements, and corporeality has no access to me" <sup>9</sup> 'Nothing is like a likeness of Him' <sup>10</sup> (And) 'Then surely Allāh is Self sufficient, above any need of the worlds' <sup>11</sup> Thirdly, *Ahankār Tāmas* is *adham*,<sup>12</sup> or the low stage of *aviddhyā*,<sup>13</sup> namely of servitude to the August Self and its inferiority is due to the fact that a man on account of his great degradation, limitation and subjectivity attributes folly ignorance and cruelty to himself and having an eye on his sense existence speaks out in such a manner that, as a result of it 'I and Thou' are rent apart from their point of unity 'Say I am only a mortal like you' <sup>14</sup> Consequently, *Bāshist* <sup>15</sup> says that when the Lord desired to be determined, He was transformed into *param ātmā* immediately on His thinking of it, and, on the increase of this determination, the stage of *ahankār* was attained and when a second determination was added to it, it got the name of *mahātāt* <sup>16</sup> or "Ahl i Kul" (Perfect Wisdom) Now, *man*<sup>17</sup> or mind which is also styled *panakari*,<sup>18</sup> was created from *sankalp* <sup>19</sup> and *mahātāt*, and from *sankalp man*, the five *Gayān i Indri* <sup>20</sup>, namely, (the senses of) smell, touch seeing hearing and taste were created, and from a combination of *sanjalp* and the five *Gayān i Indri*, the limbs and bodies were created,

<sup>1</sup> I am told by certain Sanskrit scholars that *māyā* does not mean 'love' as stated by Dīna Śhri ūh but it means 'the inscrutable power of *paramātmā* which produces appearances

<sup>2</sup> *Sattva*

<sup>3</sup> *Rājas*

<sup>4</sup> *Tāmas*

<sup>5</sup> *Jñānasvarūpa*

<sup>6</sup> *Ku'ān* Ch. XLI 54

<sup>7</sup> *Ku'ān*, Ch. LVII 3

<sup>8</sup> *Mādhyama*

<sup>9</sup> *Jvāhman*

<sup>10</sup> *Ku'ān* Ch. XLII 11

<sup>11</sup> *Ku'ān* Ch. III 96

<sup>12</sup> *Adhama*

<sup>13</sup> *Avidyā*

<sup>14</sup> *Ku'ān* Ch. XVIII 110

<sup>15</sup> *Vaśi tha*

<sup>16</sup> *Mahātātva*

<sup>17</sup> *Manas*

<sup>18</sup> *Prakṛti*

<sup>19</sup> *Sankalpa*

<sup>20</sup> *Jñānendriya*

which, in their combined form are named *badan*, or body. So, *Param ātmā*—who is called *Abul Awwāl* has enforced by His Own will all these limitations on Himself and has tied Himself to these, and, just as a silk worm, having brought out threads of silk from its own spittle, confines itself to them, so our Lord has created all these imaginary limitations for Himself and has confined Himself to them, or just as the seed of a tree having produced a plant out of itself, enters the tree and remains in the branches and the leaves and the flowers of the tree, (so our Lord has confined Himself in this world). Thus, know and be mindful (of the fact) that before its creation, this world of ours was concealed in His Self and now His Holy Self is concealed in the world<sup>1</sup>

### III DISCOURSE ON THE DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES (*Ashghāl*)

Although, according to the Indian monotheists, there are several kinds of devotional exercises, yet they regard *ajpā*<sup>2</sup> as the best of all. This exercise originates from every living being, both in sleep and wakefulness, without any will or control, at every moment—and always. Consequently, the Holy verse, ‘*And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification*’<sup>3</sup>, refers to this very fact. The incoming and outgoing of breath have been interpreted in two words—the breath that comes out is called *U* (هو He) and the breath that goes in is named *Man* (من I), and (then combination) “*U manam*” (او منم) means “He is I”. The Sūfis consider their occupation in these two words as *Hū Allāh* (هو He is God)—*Hū* appearing while the breath comes in and *Allāh* when it goes out. And these words are being uttered by every living being, without his being conscious of the fact.

### IV DISCOURSE ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD, THE MOST HIGH (*Sifāt i Allāh Ta’ālā*)

According to the Sūfis, there are the two divine attributes of Beauty (*Jamāl*) and Majesty (*Jalāl*), which encircle the whole creation while,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sa’duddin Mahmūd Shahrastānī’s *Gulshan i Rāz*, where he says, “Is not, after all, the Necessary Being a part of Existence? For (now) Existence has concealed His Self.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ajpā*

<sup>3</sup> *Kun ān*, Ch XVII 44

(Quite) unaware was I that this limitless ocean would be such,  
That its vapour would turn out to be the sky and its foam would  
become the earth

Next

An egg like drop heaved and was turned into an ocean,  
Its foam produced the earth and its smoke gave rise to the sky

And, as against this on the day of the Great Resurrection, which the Indians call *mahā parā* <sup>1</sup>, the dust will be destroyed first, being swallowed by water, water being dried up by fire, fire being extinguished by air and an being merged in *mahā akāś* <sup>2</sup> together with *Rūh* i *A'zam* (or, the Great Soul')

"Everything is perishable but His face (i.e. He) <sup>3</sup>" (And) "Every one on it must pass away And there will endure the face (i.e. the person) of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour <sup>4</sup>" So, the exception of *waḥ* (or His face) found in the above two verses, which purport to deal with the destruction of everything, points (unmistakably) to *mahā akāś*, which does not admit of annihilation. And had it not been so, He would have said "Everything is to be annihilated except Him", but the specification of 'face' (found in the above verse) cannot but apply to *mahā akāś* which constitutes the fine body of the Holy Self. Now, in the Indian language earth is called *dhṛ*, from which everything has been created and unto which everything will return, and, as stated in the Holy verse, "From it We created you and into it We shall send you back and from it will We raise you a second time <sup>5</sup>"

## II DISCOURSE ON THE SENSES (*Hawās*)

Corresponding to these five elements, there are five senses called *Pan*, *Indrī* <sup>6</sup>, in the Indian language. They are (1) *Shāmma* (smelling), (2) *Dhā'ika* (tasting), (3) *Bāśa* (seeing), (4) *Sāma'a* (hearing) and (5) *Lāma* (touching), which are called *gaḥ ān* <sup>7</sup>, *rasnā* <sup>8</sup>, *chak* <sup>9</sup> *san utā* <sup>10</sup> and *tvak* <sup>11</sup> respectively, in the Indian language, and their qualities of perception are named *gandh* <sup>12</sup>, *ras* <sup>13</sup>, *rūp* <sup>14</sup>, *śabd* <sup>15</sup> and *spars* <sup>16</sup>. Each

<sup>1</sup> <i>Mahāparāya</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>Mahākāśa</i>	<sup>3</sup> <i>Ku'ān</i> Chapt XXVIII 88
<sup>4</sup> <i>Ku'ān</i> Chapt LV 26	<sup>5</sup> <i>Ku'ān</i> , Chapt XX 55	<sup>6</sup> <i>Pañca indriyāni</i>
<sup>7</sup> <i>Ghrāna</i> (nose)	<sup>8</sup> <i>Rasānā</i> (tongue)	<sup>9</sup> <i>Chakrūh</i> (eye)
<sup>10</sup> <i>Srotra</i> (ear)	<sup>11</sup> <i>Tvak</i> (skin)	<sup>12</sup> <i>Gandha</i> (smell)
<i>Rasa</i> (taste)	<sup>13</sup> <i>Rūpa</i> (colour)	<sup>14</sup> <i>Śabda</i> (sound)
		<sup>15</sup> <i>Sparsa</i> (touch)

of these five senses is of the same genus as one of those elements and is also allied to them. Thus, the sense of smell is allied with dust, for the reason that none of the elements, except dust, possesses smell which is perceived only by *Shāmma* (or, the sense of smelling) *Dhā'ika*, (or, the sense of taste), is connected with water—(the taste of) water being perceived with our tongue, *Bāṣira*, (or, the sense of sight) is connected with fire and, as such colour is perceived by the eyes only while luminosity is present in both, *Lāṃsa*, (or, the sense of touch), is connected with air as the perception of all tangible things is through the air (finally), *Sāma'a*, (or, the sense of hearing) is connected with 'the great element' ('*Unsur i A'zam*) namely *mahā al'ās*<sup>1</sup>, through whose instrumentality we hear sounds. And it is through the sense of hearing that the real essence of *mahā al'ās* is manifested to the religious devotees (*Ahl i Dil*), only while no one else can realise it. Such exercise is common to the Sūfis and the Indian monotheists. The former naming it, *Shaykh-i Pās i Anfās*<sup>2</sup>, (or, the exercise of controlling the breath) and the latter calling it *dhun*<sup>3</sup> in their own physiology.

Now, the internal senses also are five in number *Mushṭarak* (Common) *Mutaḥayyala* (Imaginary) *Muta'akkua* (Contemplative), *Hāfiza* (Retentive) and *Wāḥima* (Fancying), but in the Indian system however, they are four in number namely *budh*<sup>4</sup>, *man*<sup>5</sup> *ahun'ār*<sup>6</sup> and *chit*<sup>7</sup>—a combination of which is called *antah karan*<sup>8</sup> and this, in its turn, may be looked upon as the fifth. Now, *chit* is possessed of a characteristic, called *sat prakāṣat*<sup>9</sup>, which is like its leg and, if out, *chit* is prevented from running. (Of the above), (1) *Budh*, namely, understanding possesses the characteristic of moving towards good and avoiding evil, (2) *Man*, or mind, possesses the two characteristics of *sankalp*<sup>10</sup> and *pakalp*<sup>11</sup>, namely, of determination and abandonment (doubt) (3) *Chit*, which, as the messenger of mind, is entrusted with the duty of running on all sides: does not possess the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong, (4) *ahankār*, which attributes things to itself, is one of the qualities

<sup>1</sup> *Mahākāsu*

<sup>2</sup> There is a Persian tract entitled *Risāla i Pās i Anfās* attributed to the authorship of *Jāmi*, in the Bodleian Library (See *Catalogue of Persian MSS* by Sachau and Ethé p 758)

<sup>3</sup> *Dhyāna*

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhi*

<sup>5</sup> *Manas*

<sup>6</sup> *Ahankāra*

<sup>7</sup> *Chit*

<sup>8</sup> *Antahkārana*

<sup>9</sup> *Satprakṛti*

<sup>10</sup> *Sankalpa*

<sup>11</sup> *Vikalpa*

And unlimited benedictions be upon the complete manifestation the cause of the creation of the universe—Muhammad, may peace be on him and his exalted descendants and great companions. Now, thus sayeth this unaffected, unsorrowing *fakīr*, Muhammad Dīwā Shikūh, that, after knowing the Truth of truths and ascertaining the secrets and subtleties of the true religion of the Sūfis and having been endowed with this great gift (i.e. Sūfistic inspiration), he trusted to know the tenets of the religion of the Indian monotheists, and, having had repeated intercourse and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and perfect divines of this (i.e. Indian) religion who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises, comprehension (of God), intelligence and (religious) insight, he did not find any difference except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth. Consequently, having collected the views of the two parties and having brought together the points—a knowledge of which is absolutely essential and useful for the seekers of Truth—he (i.e. the author) has compiled a tract and entitled it *Majma' ul Baharain* or “The Mingling of the Two Oceans,” as it is a collection of the truth and wisdom of *two* Truth knowing (*Hak Shinās*) groups. The great (mystics) have said “*Tasawwuf* is equity and (further) *Tasawwuf* is the abandonment of (religious) obligations.” So, one who is just and discerning will at once understand that in ascertaining these points how deeply I had to think. It is certain that discerning, intelligent persons will derive much pleasure from this tract (*Risāla*), while persons of blunt intelligence of either side, will get no share of its benefits. I have put down these researches of mine according to my own intuition and taste, for the benefit of the members of my family and I have no concern with the common folk of either community. As, Khwāja Ahrāi,<sup>1</sup> may his secrets be sanctified, has said, “If I know that an infidel, immersed in sin, is, in a way, singing the note of Monotheism, I go to him, hear him and am grateful to him.”

And from God comes grace and help!

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<sup>1</sup> Khwāja Nāsuuddīn ‘Ubaidullāh, better known as Khwāja Ahrāi was a great *Nakshbandi* mystic. He was born in 806 A.H. and lived for the greater part of his life at Samarkand where he died on the 29th *Rabi’ I*, 895 A.H. Ali b. Husam al Wā’iz al Kāshifī in his *Rashahāt* deals principally with the life and teachings of the Khwāja. (See *Nafahāt ul Uns*, Nawal Kishūr edition p. 364.) Dārā Shikūh quotes the above saying attributed to Khwāja Ahrāi, on p. 39 of his *Hasanāt ul Arafm*.

I DISCOURSE ON THE ELEMENTS ('*Anūsū*)

Know that the elements are five in number and that these five alone form the constituents of all the mundane creations—*First*, “the great element”, (*Unsū* & *A'ram*), which the men of Faith (*Shai'*) call “*Al-sh' & Akbar*”, or, the ‘great throne’. *Secondly* the wind, *Thirdly*, the fire, *Fourthly*, the water and *Fifthly*, the dust. And in the Indian language these are called *Pāñch Bhūt*<sup>1</sup>, namely *al ās*<sup>2</sup>, *bā'ī*<sup>3</sup>, *tu*<sup>4</sup>, *jal*<sup>5</sup>, and *prithī*<sup>6</sup>. (Now) there are three *al ās*—*bhūt akās*<sup>7</sup>, *man akās*<sup>8</sup>, and *chid al ās*<sup>9</sup>, and (of these) *bhūt akās* is surrounding the elements, *man akās* is enclosing the whole existence and *chid akās* is enveloping all and is covering everything. This *chid akās* is permanent, namely, it is not transitory and there is no Kur'ānic or Vedic verse (which is a revealed book) testifying to its annihilation or destruction. The first thing to come out of *chid akās* was Love (or *Ishk*), which is called *māyā*<sup>10</sup> in the language of the Indian monotheists, and “I was a hidden treasure then I desired to be known, so I brought the creation into existence”—this is a proof of the above statement. From *Ishk* (Love), (*Rūh* & *A'ram*) *jīv ātmān*<sup>11</sup>, the great soul was born, by which is understood a reference to the soul of Muhammad and (further) to the “complete soul” of the Chief (of the Faithful)—may peace be on him and salvation. And the Indian monotheists name him *Huan Garbha*<sup>12</sup> and *Avasthāt*<sup>13</sup>, which denote his greatness. After that comes the element (*unsū*) of wind, which is said to be the birth of the Merciful (*Rahmān*) from which springs all mundane. At the time of breathing it came out hot on account of its confinement in His August Self, fire came out of air, and, as the same breath possessed the qualities of mercy and unity, it became cold and, as such, water was created from fire. And as, on account of their great purity, the elements of air and fire are hardly perceptible and as water is more perceptible than either, some have held that, water was created first, followed by the element of dust. This dust is likened to the froth of that water and resembles the milk which, when put on fire, boils and froths.

<sup>1</sup> *Pañca bhūta*<sup>2</sup> *Āl āsa*<sup>3</sup> *Vāyu*<sup>4</sup> *Tegas*<sup>5</sup> *Jala*<sup>6</sup> *Prithivī*<sup>7</sup> *Bhūtāl āsa*<sup>8</sup> *Manāāl āsa*<sup>9</sup> *Udākāsa*<sup>10</sup> *Māyā* See p 6 n1<sup>11</sup> *Jīvātman*<sup>12</sup> *Hanyagarbha*<sup>13</sup> *Avasthātman*



## SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

- 1 Discourse on the Elements (*'Anāsū*)
- 2 „ on the Senses (*Hawāss*)
- 3 „ on the Devotional Exercises (*Ashghāl*)
- 4 „ on the Attributes of God, the Most High (*Sifāt i Allāh Ta'ālā*)
- 5 „ on the Soul (*Rūh*)
- 6 „ on the Air (*Bād*)
- 7 „ on the Four Worlds (*'Awālim i Arba'a*)
- 8 „ on Sound (*Āwāz*)
- 9 „ on Light (*Nūr*)
- 10 „ on the Vision of God (*Rūyat*)
- 11 „ on the Names of God, the Most High (*Asmā Allāh Ta'ālā*)
- 12 „ on Apostleship and Saintship (*Nubuwwat wa Wilāyat*)
- 13 „ on *Bashmānd*
- 14 „ on the Directions (*Jihāt*)
- 15 „ on the Skies (*Āsmānhā*)
- 16 „ on the Earth (*Zamīn*)
- 17 „ on the Divisions of the Earth (*Kisimat i Zamīn*)
- 18 „ on the World of *Barzakh* (i.e. *Interval between the Death of a Man and the Resurrection*)
- 19 „ on the Resurrection (*Kiyāmat*)
- 20 „ on *Mukt* (Salvation)
- 21 „ on Day and Night (*Rūz wa Shab*)
- 22 „ on the Infinity of the Cycles

## TRANSLATION

‘ In the name of One who hath no name With whatever name  
thou callest Him, He uplifteth His Head ’

Abundant praise be (showered) on the Incomparable One, who has  
manifested on His beautiful, unparalleled and matchless face the two  
parallel locks of Faith (*Īmān*) and Infidelity (*Kufr*), and by neither of  
them has He covered His beautiful face

### Verses <sup>1</sup>

“ Faith and Infidelity, both are galloping on the way towards  
Him,

And are exclaiming (together) He is One and none shares His  
kingship ” <sup>2</sup>

He is manifest in all , and everything has emanated from Him He  
is the first and the last and nothing exists, except Him

### Quatrain

‘ The neighbour, the companion and the co traveller is He,  
In the rags of beggars and the raiments of kings, is He,  
In the conclave on high and the secret chamber below,  
By God, He is all and, verily by God, He is all ” <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quoted from the *Hadiqat ul Hakiqat* of Hakim Sanāʾi Ghaznavi. Dārī Shikūh also has written a quatrain which bears a close affinity in meaning to the above verse of Sanāʾi :

‘ We have not seen a single particle of dust separate from the sun,  
(And) every drop of water is the sea in itself  
With what name one should call the Truth ?  
(For) whatever name there is, it is one of the names of God

*Jāmi* also has a similar quatrain

At times we call Thee wine and next the wine cup,  
(And) at times we call Thee grain and then a snare  
There is nothing except Thy name on the tablet of the earth  
Now with what name should we call Thee ?

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the *Darbār i Akbari* of Mawlāwī Muhammad Husain Āzād (p. 492) that Abul Faḍl had this verse inscribed on a building which Akbar had built for the common use of the Hindūs and the Musalmāns

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the quatrains of *Jāmi*. Dārī also quotes it in his *Hasanāt ul ‘Arifin* in connection with the *Shathiriyāt* of the poet

Islamia College Calcutta, and Dr G Kar, M A Ph D , of the City College, Calcutta, who kindly revised the proof of the Introduction and the Translation

Finally, I thank Mr Johan van Manen, F A S B , the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for his many valuable suggestions and for securing me the permission of the Society for the publication of this work in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*

M MAHFUZ UL HAQ

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE

*Calcutta*

*December 1 1925*

## TRANSLATION

I have got a transcription of the above MS through Shams ul 'ulamā M Hidayat Husain, who, in his turn, got it as he informs me through the kindness of Hāfiz Ahmad 'Alī Khān, the Librarian of the Nawāb's Palace Library. I have named this MS R.

- (4) A MS from the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, which is displayed in the shelves of the Hall, is an autograph of Dā'ī Shikūh. I examined the MS carefully and found that there was no internal or external evidence to prove or even suggest that the MS was an autograph one. The handwriting is not that of Dā'ī Shikūh, for it is quite different from the known autographs of the prince. Moreover, there are so many omissions, inaccuracies and even mistakes of spelling that it is impossible for one to believe that it is an autograph copy of Dā'ī Shikūh. I have named the MS V.

- (5) MS from the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon Collection, No 156, III, of the MS Hand list), which has been acquired quite recently. As the Text and Translation were already in type, I could use the MS very sparingly. I have however, made full use of it in preparing the list of variants. I may add here that had this MS been available at the time of preparing my Text it would have helped me a great deal in preparing a relatively better text. I would call this MS A.

Besides the above MSS I have sometimes consulted the apparently unique MS of the Arabic translation of *Maṣma' ul Bahar* which is preserved in the Bihār Library, (Imperial Library, Calcutta).<sup>1</sup> This translation was made by one Muhammad Sālīh b. 'Ash Shāikh Ahmad al Misri, and was of much use to me in collecting the Arabic quotations, etc.

An Urdū translation of *Maṣma' ul Bahar*, entitled *Nūr i 'Ain*, by one Gocul Prasad, was lithographed at Lucknow (1872), but, unfortunately I could not secure a copy of that.

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<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the Bihār Library (Imperial Library Calcutta) prepared by Shams ul 'ulamā Dr. M. Hidayat Husain pp 160-161.

The above description of the MSS of *Maḥma' ul Bahān* will make it abundantly clear that none of them by itself could possibly have been used as the basis of a good text. So, I had no other alternative than to prepare my text by collating all the MSS and selecting the best reading for my text. I admit that all my selections may not be approved of by my readers and they may permit of further improvement but, with the texts that I had I fear I could not do better.

I may add here that in preparing the list of variants I have kept in view the fact that only such variations of the text should be noted as are material and cannot possibly be ascribed to a mistake on the part of the copyist. But in order to give the reader an idea of the large number of variations I have noted down almost all the variations found on page 5 of the printed text, which, I think will bear a striking testimony to the idiosyncracies of the copyists.

A very difficult task which confronted me was that of identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly. I explained my difficulty to my friend and colleague, Dr Surendra Nath Das Gupta, the author of the admirable *History of Indian Philosophy*, who was good enough to go through the first few pages of my English translation. On examining my MS translation the learned doctor suggested to me that Dārā Shikūh had made several inaccurate statements in his text and it was desirable that foot notes were added, explaining and correcting such statements. He also promised to write the foot notes himself, but on account of his departure for America, he was unable to fulfil his promise. I am greatly indebted to Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti, M A my colleague at the Presidency College, who has very kindly identified and transliterated the Sanskrit terms. He has always helped me ungrudgingly.

I cannot conclude, without thanking Shams ul 'ulamā Dr M Hidāyat Husain, my teacher and colleague, who has helped me through out and has always been willing to lay at my disposal his vast store of knowledge regarding Islāmic bibliography and *Kur'ānic* literature. I am also indebted to Khān Sāhib 'Abdul Wah (who is, unfortunately no longer alive) and Mawlā Sayyid Muḥammad Tāhir, M A, for their kind assistance.

My thanks are also due to Mr A H Harley, M A, Principal

a destroyer of the public peace''<sup>1</sup> But the above indictment is too meagre to need any comment Anyone can choose to be the Champion of Islām and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization of his political ambitions

*Majma' ul Bahar*

This small tract is of supreme importance to a student of comparative religion as it embodies, so far as I know, the first and perhaps the last attempt of its kind to reconcile the two apparently divergent religions It is the last original work of Dārī Shikūh and, as such has an importance of its own And, according to one authority,<sup>2</sup> it was this very work which brought about his death It is said that this tract was laid before the ecclesiasts who declared its author a heretic and sentenced him to death, which was only too faithfully carried out by his over zealous brother

An examination of the concluding portion of the work will show that it was written in 1065 A H, that is, when Dārī was 42 It appears from the Introduction that Dārī wrote this work, ' according to his own inspiration and taste for the members of his family ' He declares openly, "I have nothing to do with the common folk of both the communities "

The tract begins with an Introduction and contains *twenty* sections having the following headings —

- 1 The Elements
- 2 The Senses
- 3 The Religious Exercises
- 4 The Attributes
- 5 The Wind
- 6 The Four Worlds
- 7 The Fire
- 8 The Light
- 9 The Beholding of God
- 10 The Names of God the Most High
- 11 The Apostleship and the Prophetship
- 12 The *Basmān*

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<sup>1</sup> Jadu Nath Sarkar's *Amangzab*, Vol II p 214

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar ul Mutaakhkhirin* p 403

- 13 The Directions
- 14 The Skies
- 15 The Earths
- 16 The Divisions of the Earth
- 17 The *Barzakh*
- 18 The Great Resurrection
- 19 The *Mukhl*
- 20 The Night and the Day

It is unfortunate that although the MSS of *Majma' ul Bahar* are not rare in the libraries in India, they are full of clerical mistakes and also contain innumerable errors both of omission and commission. I have consulted five MSS in preparing the present text, but to my great disappointment none of them could satisfy me. There are so many variants and the Persian transliteration of Sanskrit terms or quotations from the *Kur'ān* are so very different that the task of the editor becomes extremely difficult and at times, even insurmountable.

The MSS that I have used in preparing my text are —

- (1) MS from the Asfiya Library, Hyderabad, dated 9th Rabi, I, 1224 A.H., transcribed by Sayyid Ghauri 'Ali b Sayyid Shih 'Ali Razi. The Librarian, Mawlana 'Abbās Husain *Kanūnī* was good enough to have it copied under his supervision. The MS contains innumerable clerical mistakes. I have named this MS II.
- (2) A MS from the (Khudā Bakhsh Khān) Oriental Public Library, Bunkipore (No. 1450 of the Hand list of Persian MSS prepared by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Muktaḍḍī), bearing no date of transcription nor the name of the scribe. It is a relatively better MS than II, but, nevertheless contains several orthographical mistakes and is not written in a clear hand. I have collated MS II with the Oriental Public Library MS which I name K.
- (3) A MS from the Rampur State Library, dated 22nd Dhul Hijja, 1226 A.H., copied by Muḥammad Hājī Beg at the instance of Khwāja Mīr Kāsim. The MS is imperfect in several ways. There are apparently spurious additions in the text which display Shiite tendencies. A perusal of the list of variants will confirm this statement.



out, believing in the sunts and the mystics of Islām and calling Muḥammed the 'last Prophet'

From 1065 A H onwards, Dārī was more deeply interested in the study of Hindūism. In 1066 A H, he got the *Jug Bāshist* translated into Persian. A year later he himself translated the *Upanishads* into Persian prose. About this time he also translated the *Bhāgvat Gītā*<sup>1</sup> or perhaps, had it translated by one of his courtiers.

In all these works there is not the slightest indication that Dārī had renounced Islām and embraced Hindūism. He is a Muslim throughout. He is of opinion that the *Vedas* are "revealed books" but certainly this could not amount to an apostasy from Islām. He believed in the *Kur'ān* and was of opinion that "the *Vedas* were in accordance with the *Kur'ān* or rather they were an interpretation of that." Can such an opinion amount to renouncing Islām? It is for the doctors of the Faith to pronounce an opinion on the point but to a layman like myself, it appears that no one could possibly be declared a *Kāfir* on one simply expressing the above views. There have been many revealed books, which according to the Muslim faith have been abrogated, but, nevertheless, they can be studied profitably by one who wishes to make a higher and deeper study of religious and theological problems. So, if Dārī found in the *Vedas* an elucidation and explanation of certain abstruse problems of the *Kur'ān*, he cannot be condemned. Mirzā Jānjānīn *Mazhar*, *Shahid* (d 1130=1717 A D), who was a very well known saint of India has expressed practically the same views but he has not been condemned by any. He writes<sup>2</sup>

It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercv, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (*Veda*), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world.

All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God. consider the world to be created, believe in the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ethé writes in the *Catalogue of Pers MSS in the Indus Office Library* (c 1089). In the British Mus. copy it (i.e. *Bhagvat Gita*) is wrongly ascribed to Abu al fadl the real translator was as a note on fol 1a in the present copy proves prince Dārī *Shukūh*.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from the life and teachings of Mirzā Mazhar translated by the late Mawlāwī 'Abdul Wali, J A S B, Vol XIX pp 238-239.

destruction of the world, in the reward for good and bad conduct, on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct) The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated In Islamic *Shari'ah* no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made, whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (i.e. changes)

It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Qur'ān) *And there is not a people but a warner has from among them'* and also *'And every nation had an apostle,* and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan on whom be peace and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus "

If the above views cannot amount to an apostasy from Islām, it is difficult to understand how Dā'ir Shukūh could have been condemned for expressing practically the same views

His works and writings are before us and, on examining them, we can only state that he was a Muslim throughout and, being a Sūfī himself, expressed such views, which, though appearing as revolting at first sight cannot have amounted to an apostasy from Islām What to say of Dā'ir? If one tries to examine the works and writings of the most eminent Sūfīs one will find that their aphorisms and paradoxes are more condemnable than those of Dā'ir Shukūh We find that Manṣūr was crucified, Shihābuddin Suhrawardī executed and Sumad put to death, but time has vindicated their honour Today, they are hailed as martyrs and sufferers on the Path, and such is the case with Dā'ir Time has vindicated his honour and, now, he is adored and admired by a large section of the Muslims as a prince who suffered death not as an offender against Islām but as one who fell a victim to the Imperialistic ambitions and aspirations of his wily, *fakir* brother

But yet we find that Dā'ir Shukūh was indicted by the ecclesiastics of the court of Aurangzib for his apostasy According to *Ma'āthir-i-Āl-i-Aurangzib*, the official history of Aurangzib, the charge against him was that 'The pillars of the Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbances from his life So the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Holy Law, and also for reasons of State, considered it unlawful to allow Dā'ir to remain alive any longer as

both Vāsistha and Rām Chandra appeared, one night, before Dārī Shikūh in dream, the former asking Rām Chandra to embrace Dārī Shikūh which he did and then again asking him, (Rām Ch) to give some sweets to Dārī which he took and ate. As a result of this dream it came to the mind of Dārī to have the work translated into Persian. He commanded one of his courtiers to do the work which he performed in collaboration with certain well known Pandits of the place.

(3) *Tārīkh-i Shams-shi Khānī*—an abridgement of the *Shāhnāma* made at the instance of Dārī. (See *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. II p. xvii and Pertsch, No. 708)

Of the works dedicated to Dārī I append hereto a list of only two.

(1) *Tibb-i Dārī Shikūhī*<sup>1</sup>—is a big work of some 400 folios on “the general principles of medicine and the treatment of the various diseases” which was written by Nūʿuddīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amīn ul Mulk Shīrāzī. It was written about the year 1056 A.H.<sup>2</sup> and dedicated to Dārī Shikūh the then heir apparent of Shāhjahān.

(2) *Faṣṣuma-i Alwāl-i Wāsīh*—or a Persian translation of the sayings of the famous Sūfī Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al Wāsiṭī (d. C. 320 A.H., 932 A.D.), by one Ibrāhīm Miskin who dedicated them to this prince in 1067, that is only two years before his execution.<sup>3</sup>

#### DARĀ'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

A close examination of the works of Dārī Shikūh, in their correct chronological order will reveal the fact that his earlier studies were purely Sūfistic in character and were not extended to an examination of the mystic systems of other religions. But the deeper and wider was his study the greater was the realization of the truths found in other religions and more outspoken the appreciation for them. There is no denying the fact that he must have received his education on old, orthodox lines but, nevertheless, he had the courage to cast away all prejudice and examine things in their true perspective. He writes himself in his introduction

<sup>1</sup> In the Paris MS Nos. 857-469 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans* pp. 103-104) the MS is entitled *Ilājāt-i Dārī Shikūhī*.

<sup>2</sup> The author writes in the introduction that he composed the work about the time Shāhjahān conquered Badakhshān namely 1055-56 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> A MS copy of the work is in the A.S.B. Library see Ivanow's *Catalogue* p. 612.

to the translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of Mullā Shāh, in 1050 A H, he came in close contact with the divines of the various religions and perused the Psalms the Gospels and the Pentateuch. This marks the beginning of Dārā's examination of the systems of various religions. But in the books and tracts which he wrote before 1062, he does not express his opinion on the various religions, or, more specially, on Hindūism. In the *Shathiyāt* only (1062) we find him quoting the aphorisms of a Hindū divine, Bābī Lal which purports to declare that 'Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion'. The next work, in order of chronology, is the *Mawmū ul Bahrām*, written in 1065 in which he has expressed his views very clearly, and is definitely of opinion that in the higher planes of the realization of Truth there is no essential difference between Hindūism and Islām. Dārā knew that such an outspoken expression of opinion must be considered as sacrilegious by a large section of the members of both the communities, so he gives the note of warning and says "I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions." This small book is an attempt to reconcile Hindūism and Islām. The author has endeavoured to show that the conception of the Elements God, the Senses, the Almighty, the Soul the Communion with the Infinite the Day of Resurrection, the Universe, the Planets and the Cycles etc., is practically the same in Hindūism and Islām. His attempt has been mostly confined to showing the points of identity between the two religions without exalting or undermining either. He is concerned with facts and puts them *as they are*. His is rather a comparative study of Hindūism and Islām with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet. As a student of comparative religion he has put down the points of resemblance between the two religions, however superficial they may be, and surprisingly enough, in his zeal for establishing a close identity between them has chosen to ignore the many points of difference. But it must be admitted, at the same time, that Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindū as is asserted by a biased section of the community. The very Introduction, which he has begun with the praise of God, the Prophet, his companions and the descendants, will belie such a presumption, and a careful perusal of the later chapters will show that he was a Muslim through

“Bābā Lāl *Mandhāya* is one of the perfect ‘*Ṭīrīs*, and I have seen none in the Hindū community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me, ‘There are ‘*Ṭīrīs* and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community’<sup>1</sup>”

In the *Maṣma‘ ul Bahān* also (p 24), Dārā has put down the name of this saint, whom he calls Bābā Lāl *Bawāqī*, by the side of those Muhammadan saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Sūfī order in Islām. The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh.

Hence it is not surprising that Dārā did invite the saint and had the conversations, which passed between him and the mystic recorded. It appears that Dārā's private Secretary, Chandaī Bhān,<sup>2</sup> was present on the occasion of these interviews and perhaps acting as an interpreter; took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue, from which he prepared the present book, entitled *Mukāṭṭaba i Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl*.

In the A S B (Cuizon Collection 1908 1910) there is a manuscript copy of *Pūthi Ūrī* in Persian, which contains the memoirs of Bābā Lāl and also an account of the interview which he had with Dārā Shikūh in 1059 A H (= 1649 A D).

It may be added here, that there is a painting reproduced in Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Great Moghals*,<sup>3</sup> in which Dārā Shikūh is depicted as sitting by the side of Bābā Lāl. Binyon gives us the following particulars regarding the Bābī —

“Lāl Swāmī was a Kshatriya, born in Malwa in the reign of Jahāngir, after having been initiated, he settled near Suhind, in the Panjāb, where he built himself a hermitage, together with a temple, and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikūh, two learned Hindus who

<sup>1</sup> In the same book (p 44) Dārā, while quoting the aphorisms of Bābā Lāl, writes that this saint belonged to the order of Kabīr.

<sup>2</sup> Chandaī Bhān was an inhabitant of Patyālā or of Lahore, as asserted by some. He was the *Muṣṭafī* to Dārā and was appointed in the *Dār ul Inshā* of Shāhjahān in 1066 A H, and entitled Rāī Chandaī Bhān. He died in 1068 A H or in 1073. He left several works including *Chahār Chaman Munshirāt i Brahman*, *Kānāmā*, *Guldasta Maṣma ul Wuzayā* etc. and a *Drūṭān*.

<sup>3</sup> Humphrey Milford (Oxford University Press) 1921. Plate No XXII.

were in this prince's service have recorded, in a work entitled *Nāḍi al Nikāt*, the conversation, that took place between the Swami and the prince during seven interviews between them in the year 1649<sup>1</sup>”

In another painting,<sup>2</sup> reproduced in the above book, the Bābā appears in a group of some twelve Indian Divines to wit Rāy Dās Pipā, Nāmdiv Svāmī Kāmāl Awghar Kūbir Pū Machandai, Gorakh Jadrū, (?) Pū Panth Svāmī (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmī. A painting was also exhibited at the second meeting of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*<sup>3</sup> in which Dāiā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl (called there Lāldās) are shown in each other's company

And in an unidentified painting in Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals* (Plate No XLVI from M. Demotte's collection) also portrays, in my opinion, the meeting scene between Dāiā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dās.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Juy Bāshist*—on a Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, was undertaken at the instance of Dāiā Shikūh by one of his courtiers, whose name, unfortunately we do not know. The translator says in the introduction that Prince Dāiā Shikūh ordered him, in 1066 A H to translate the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* into simple Persian for the other translations, and more specially, the one made by Mullā Sūfi,<sup>5</sup> did not serve the purpose of the seekers of the truth. The immediate reason, however, of having the book translated was that

<sup>1</sup> p. 92

<sup>2</sup> Plate No. XIX

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings* Appendix p. XXV

<sup>4</sup> The dialogues have been arranged and edited by one Chiranjī Lāl and lithographed at Delhi in 1896. An Urdu translation entitled *Asiā'i Ma'rifat* has also been published some years back by Dewān Māyū Dās of Lahore and another with the Persian text, and entitled *Shu'ā'i Ma'rifat* was published by Munshi Bulāki Dās of Delhi in 1896. I have perused the second lithographed copy and am surprised to find that it differs materially from the manuscript copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library Patna (No. 1119 of the Hand list of Persian MSS). Further a perusal of the above MS copy reveals the fact that the work was originally composed in Hindi and then translated into Persian (fol. 1a). It may be added here that MS copies of the *Mu'ālīma* in the Berlin Library, (Perle No. 1,081,2) and the Bodleian Library (Bodleian Column 758) agree as appears from the first line quoted in the catalogues with the copy in the Oriental Public Library Patna. Since the above was in type an excellent text of the *Mu'ālīma*, with its French translation has been published by Inart and Massignon in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, Tome CCLX, No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In A. S. B. Collection MS No. 158, the name of the translator is Shāhī Sūfi.

Begam<sup>1</sup> and which bears the following inscription in his own hand writing —

“This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dārī Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shāhjahān in the year 1051 (1641 2 A D ) ’<sup>2</sup>, is one of the most valuable treasures of the Mughal Art

Principal Percy Brown in his admirable *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, while discussing the value and importance of the Album, observes —

“As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this *Muqatta‘* is of interest, it shows that its original owner while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good judge of a miniature and had gathered his examples with care”

And, Cecil L. Burns, describing the Album in an illuminating article in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925, writes —

“What the Koh-i-Noor is to other eastern diamonds, surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of Calligraphy of the highest quality of the penman’s and painter’s art, must be to any other volume of a similar character The album is

(13) An autograph note on the valuable Album which Dārī Shukāh presented to his ‘nearest and dearest wife’ Nādira Begam in 1051 A.H.

It may be added here that an ornamented and illuminated copy of the *Kutub* which, it is believed, was actually used by Dārī Shukāh, is now in the collection of Nawwāb Husāmuddin Haider of Comilla. The author of *Safar Nāma i Mazhar* (late Hājī Mazhar Alim Ansārī Rāḍawlāwī) gives us the following particulars regarding the copy —

Nawwāb Husām Haider Shāh showed me a MS. copy of the *Kutub* which was illuminated and ornamented with gold. It is written by a Persian scribe on thick, fine paper. The size is folio. My eyes were brightened on seeing the MS. It was this very *Kutub* from which Dārī Shukāh read daily. It bears his seal. The Nawwāb Shāh got the MS. from a European lady. It is a unique copy of the *Kutub* (p. 98 of the *Safar Nāma*).

<sup>1</sup> India Office Library R. and L. 914 1908

<sup>2</sup> Smith (V. A.) *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, (Oxford 1911) pp. 457-458. For a description of the Album see Percy Brown’s *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, (1925) pp. 94-95. *The Times of India Annual* 1925

similar to such an one is Vasari, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period.

All are of the highest quality of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince who selected them.

#### WORKS WRITTEN AT THE INSTANCE OF DARĀ

In addition to the works which are Dārā's own composition, there is a large number of books which have either been written at his instance, or have been dedicated to him as a tribute to his patronage of such authors. The number of the works of former class cannot be expected to be large but the works of the latter class are numerous and, as such, it will not be possible to notice all of them. Moreover, the identification of all such books has not been complete. I will, therefore, enumerate only the more important ones of this class.

Now let us discuss the works of the former class —

(1) *Mukāshshat al-Dārā Shikūh wa Babā Lāl*—contains a summary of the questions that were asked by Dārā Shikūh on the various topics of Hindū religion and ascetic life and the replies that were given to them by Bābā Lāl, a Hindū devotee of the Panjāb. It appears, from the investigations made by Pandit Sheo Narain,<sup>1</sup> that Babā Lāl actually named Lal Dayal was a Khatib of Kasūl, who lived at his *Ashtān*, at Dhiānpūr near Batāla. Dārā Shikūh intended to go to him, as he was a friend of Mīrāj Jiv, but the saint himself came down to Lahore, where Dārā conversed with him.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, difficult to fix the actual date of these conversations for there is no internal evidence, except one perhaps to give us a clue to ascertain this point. From the seventh and the last sitting it can be ascertained that these conversations took place after Dārā's return from the expedition to Kandhār, in 1062 A H.

In his *Hasanāt al-Tarīq*, which he completed in 1064 A H, Dārā has included the name of Bābā Lāl—the only Hindū whose aphorisms he has quoted. He writes (p. 40)

<sup>1</sup> In his *Dārā Shikūh* is an author (*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* Vol II No 1 pp 27-28)

<sup>2</sup> Pandit Sheo Narain writes that he has found a manuscript copy of Bābā Lāl's biography from which he has taken the above details.



## DĀRĀ SHIKŪH AND HIS FINE ARTS

Dārā Shikūh was a lover of the fine arts. He studied Calligraphy with Ākī 'Abdū Rashīd ad Dailamī, the well known Calligrapher at the court of Shāhjahān and the last great scribe of *Nasta'liq*. The author of *Tadhkirat al Khushnawīsān*<sup>1</sup> states that Dārī wrote a very good hand in *Nasta'liq* and was the best pupil of Ākī Rashīd. He adds that none of the pupils of the Akā excelled him in fine penmanship. It may be added that there is a painting in the collection of Mr A. Ghose of Calcutta in which Dārī Shikūh is depicted as taking his lessons in Calligraphy from the Akā.<sup>2</sup> Besides *Nasta'liq* Dārā also wrote a very good hand in *Nasikh* and the specimens of his Calligraphy preserved in the various Oriental Libraries prove conclusively that he excelled both in *Nasikh* and *Nasta'liq*.<sup>3</sup> He was also a great admirer of print.

<sup>1</sup> By Ghulām Muḥammad Ḥuṣṣī Rāḥmī, (Bib. Indica) p. 54

<sup>2</sup> The painting has been reproduced in the *Calcutta Review* March 1925

<sup>3</sup> I know of the following autographs of Dārā Shikūh preserved in the various libraries of Europe and India —

- (1) *Daḥmat ul Awliyā* (Oriental Public Library, Patna MS No 673) bearing the following note in the hand writing of Dārā Shikūh —

هذا كتاب سمي الاوليا حرره محمد دارا سكوه خدني وادري ه ا ه

Ḥshān Bahādūr 'Abdū Muktadī (*Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna*, Vol. I, III, pp. 47-48) is of opinion that the MS has been collated by Dārā Shikūh as the marginal notes indicate and not copied by him, as is generally asserted.

- (2) *Kur'ān* written on deer skin in 1061 A.H., bearing the following note at the colophon —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم دارا سكوه بن ساجدهاں بادشاہ عاری در مقام ساجدهاں آباد ه ا ه

Shams ul ulamā Ḥshān Nadhū Ahmad, who examined the MS in the 'Azīz Bāgh Library, Hyderabad (Deccan) gives the following account of the MS in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Indian Society of Bengal* (New Series 1917 p. 10). The verses of the *Kur'ān* are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The MS is carefully preserved in a splendid binding.

- (3) *Pargana* written in a learned *Nasikh* in gold. The MS formerly belonged to the Būhārī Library, (Imperial Library) Calcutta but is now deposited with the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall Cal

L 3862

ings and a good judge of their technique and value. The Album which he presented to his newest and dearest wife "Nādira

culā (See *Catalogue Persique of Persian MSS in the Bihār Library* p. viii)

- (4) *Dak Land i Hastā* in fine clear *Nasta'liq* within gold ruled borders preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall (Calcutta)
- (5) *Risāla i Helmat i Ba tū* copied by the prince in 1041 A H and now preserved in the Asifiya Library Hyderabad (Deccan) (See the *Urdū Hand list* of the Library, Vol II, pp 1770-1771)
- (6) *Sharh i Durān i Hāsh* (by Saifuddin Abul Hasan Abdu Rahmān) defective at the beginning. The date of transcription is not given in the *Urdū Hand list* (Vol I, pp 718-719) of the Asifiya library where the MS is at present
- (7) A note on the fly leaf of an autograph copy of a *Mathnawī* of Bahāuddin Sultān Muḥad son of the well known Tahiruddin Tūm. The MS belonged to the Government of India and was noticed in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1870 p 251 but unfortunately, is now no longer in the Government (Cuzon) Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. H. Blochmann published a facsimile of the Autograph note of Durr Shīrīn in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1870 p 272 which runs as follows

هو العادر  
من مرقى سلطان ولد  
بخط مبارک ایشان  
راحمه محمد دارا سکوه

Blochmann has, due to an oversight read هو العادر for هو القادر

- (8) A *Wazh* exhibited at the Sixth Session of the *Nadwat ul 'Ulamā* held at Benares, in 1906. See (in *Nadwa* Vol III No 4)
- (9) A *Wazh* exhibited at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore 1920 (See p xxii of the *Proceedings of the Commission*)
- (10) A *Wazh* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated 1046 A H (=1636 A D) (See Sachau and others *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Bodleian Library* Vol I Column No 1000)
- (11) It appears from one of the letters of Shihā Nuzmān, a well known Urdū scholar that Dr. S. F. Denison Ross had in his possession, an autograph of Durr Shukūh (See *Ma'ātib i Shihab* Vol II, p 241)
- (12) *Wazh* exhibited at the Fourth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Delhi 1922 (See the *Proceedings of the Commission* Vol IV, p 107 and *Memoirs of the Arch. Soc. of India*, No 29 p 12)

ness What to say of your incomparable and heart pleasing verses  
How sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay ?”

We learn from the *Tadhkiras* that Dārā had adopted the *Talhallus*, or *nom de plume*, of *Kādmī*, which testifies to his sincere devotion to the *Kādmī* order. *Saikhush*, who wrote his *Kalimāt ush Shu‘arā* only twenty one years after the execution of Dārā, speaks of him in the following words<sup>1</sup> —

“Muhammad Dārā Shikūh styled as ‘*Shāh i Baland Ikbāl*,’ the heir apparent of *Shāhjahān Pādshāh*, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination and handsome appearance. He had patience, led the life of a Sūfī, was a friend of the devotees, and was also an Umrīan and a philosopher. He had a noble mind and a far reaching intelligence. He expressed Sūfistic ideas in *Quatrains* and *Gharabs* and in view of his adherence to the *Kādmī* order adopted the pen name of *Kādmī*.”

Then, the author proceeds to narrate a story showing Dārā’s forbearance towards one of the buffoons of his court who had made a very impertinent joke at the expense of the prince.

The author concludes the notice of Dārā with the following remarks —

“He has written excellent Sūfistic works and has solved difficult problems therein. A small *Diwān* of his verses has been collected.”

The same author, while giving an account of Mirā Rādī, *Dāwush*, who came to India in the reign of *Shāhjahān*, writes —

“Dārā Shikūh, having appreciated this verse<sup>2</sup> of his, selected it as *Misra’ i Tanāh*

ناک را سرسر دار ای ابر دسای در دہار  
مطر نامی می تواند سد چرا گوهر و د

Every one composed verses according to his liking. The prince also wrote a verse<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Alfahuddin Saikhush* wrote his *Tadhkirah* in 1090 A. H.

<sup>2</sup> Fol 58 b of my manuscript copy.

<sup>3</sup> The story is given on fols 58b and 59a of my manuscript copy. The author of *Makhlāt ul Gharā’ib* (p. 682 O. P. Library copy) writes that four poets

سلطنت سهل است خود را اسلامی مقرر کن  
 وطیره با دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود

“ Kingship is easy , make thyself familiar with the ways of asceticism,

(For), if a drop can be the ocean why should it (then) be the pearl ’

I cannot do better than quote some of his verses, from certain *Tadhkiras*, and leave them to the readers to pass their own judgment on the same, but, I would ask them to keep in mind the fact that the verses were written at a time when the grandeur and magnificence of the Mughal court had reached the highest pitch of perfection and, in the midst of that mirth and merrymaking there was the hero apparent who did think of the Transcendent and rose above the gross materialism of his day to the planes of higher spiritualism. He writes

هر دم و بهی که شد از ناب رقیب ناز شد  
 نام شد بسنج شد رنجگر شد رنار شد

با دوست رسدندم چو از حونس بردندم  
 از حونس گدس چو مدارک سفری بود

مردم مادم ناکه بهر آن گسدم  
 عارف مادم و ر حونس عربان گسدم  
 پیدا کردی مرام و ایکنس من هم  
 پیدا کردم مرام و قربان گسدم

نخستین بحر حریفه و ما کنسالم موج آب حباب را ماند

including the prince had written verses in reply ( جواب ) to the above verse of *Faizi*. I think the biographer is wrong in ascribing the authorship of the verse to *Faizi* as it is not included in his *Divān*.

2 *Nāḍu un Nikāt* —Dr. Ethé<sup>1</sup> has ascribed this work to Dīn Shikūh but has quoted no authority in favour of his assertion. It is not improbable, however, that *Nāḍu un Nikāt* is only another name of *Risāla i Hak Numā*, for a manuscript copy of the latter tract (in the A S B Curzon Collection) bears the former title. It is equally probable that *Nāḍu un Nikāt* and *Mukāḥḥama i Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikūh*<sup>2</sup> (of which I will speak later) are identical, for a manuscript copy of the latter work preserved in the O P Library<sup>3</sup> bears the title of *Malḥẓan i Nikāt*, which is closely allied to *Nāḍu un Nikāt*. It is however difficult to choose between the two possibilities.

3 *Malḥẓawī* —It appears from the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol II, No I)<sup>4</sup> that a Persian *Malḥẓawī* said to have been composed by this prince is mentioned in the *Malḥẓan* a monthly magazine of Lahore (September 1907).

4 It is stated in the above *Journal* that Dīn Shikūh is reported to have written an autobiography, but so far I have found no mention of such a work in the books I have consulted in connection with the life of this prince.

#### DARA SHIKŪH AS A POET

So far, we have described only the prose works of Dīn Shikūh or such other works as have been ascribed to his authorship but have not, as far as I know, been traced anywhere. Now we may discuss briefly the merits of Dīn as a poet. But, I must state at the outset, that the materials for such a discussion are very scanty. We know from authoritative sources that Dīn Shikūh composed a *Dīwān* entitled *Iksr i A'zam* which, according to the author of *Khaṭṭat ul Asfīyā*, contained "a mine of information regarding *Tawḥīd*, and was actually perused by him. It is a pity, however, that such a valuable *Dīwān* has not as yet, found room in the well known libraries of the East or the West, nor has seen the light of print. I was pleased to see an announcement in the *Nigār*, (an Urdu monthly of Bhūpāl), that the *Dīwān* of

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the India Office Library* vol I p. 275

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* vol II, No I p. 27

Pandit Shree Narain's article on 'Dīn Shikūh as an author' in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol II, No I p. 26

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 25

Dārī Shikūh has been discovered and that full particulars regarding this valuable manuscript will be published in a subsequent issue of the magazine. I waited for two years but no such description of the manuscript appeared. Finally, I wrote to the editor of the magazine who informed me, in reply that the owner of the manuscript had left for England and I must wait till his return. Hence, my disappointment. I also found an announcement in the price list of Hājī Jān Muḥ Allāh Bakhsh Grāmī, the well known book sellers of Lahore, that the Quatrains of Dārī Shikūh (رباعیات داراسکوه) are in the course of print. It is more than two years since I saw the announcement and I have been asked by the publishers to wait for some months more.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to hazard any opinion regarding the contents of the *Diwān*, nor it is possible to say whether the *Quatrains*, which are said to be in the course of publication at Lahore, are included in the *Diwān* or the *Mathnawī*, which has been ascribed to him is also included in it. Such questions can only be answered on the publication of the *Diwān* or a list of its contents. For the time being, at least we are to be contented with some 25 quatrains and a few *Ghazals* only which have either been quoted by Dārī in his prose works or have been ascribed to him in the various *Tadhkiras*.

The largest number of *Quatrains*, totalling more than 20<sup>1</sup>, are quoted by Dārī in his *Hasanāt ul 'Arifin* and only a few more can be found in all his remaining works. Hence, it is apparent that the materials, as I have stated before are very scanty. But we are to judge their value by their quality and not by their quantity. We find, that Dārī's verses were appreciated in his own life time. The following appreciation from the pen of Mullā Shāh, who was himself an accomplished poet, will serve to convey an idea as to Dārī being a poet of no ordinary merit.<sup>2</sup>

'All the excellences are under the subjugation of an 'Arif, and this is well established that he (also) possesses (some degree) of harmonious

<sup>1</sup> I have calculated this number from my manuscript copy of *Hasanāt*, and have taken only such quatrains about which the author has distinctly mentioned that they are his composition. A perusal of other manuscripts may either increase or reduce this number.

<sup>2</sup> Mullā Shāh's letter to Dārī Shikūh in *Sakinat ul Awliyā* p 144

of this book. And (he) had no other object in view (in translating this work) except that he would be personally benefited or that his issues, friends and the seekers of the Truth would gather its fruits. The graced one who, having set aside the promptings of passion, and casting off all prejudice, will read and understand this translation,—which is entitled *Sūrat al-Bar* (or, the Great Secret)—will consider it to be Divine utterance, he will have no anxiety or fear or grief and will be helped and fortified with Divine grace.”

7 *Bhāgvat Gītā*—The Persian translation of this well known Sanskrit work is ascribed to Dārā Shikūh in the manuscript copy (No 1949) preserved in the India Office Library. Dr Elcho is of opinion<sup>1</sup> that Dārā Shikūh and not Abul Fūl is wrongly asserted by Dr Rieu,<sup>2</sup> as the author of the work. In view of the categorical statement made by Dr Elcho it is difficult to discredit his statement. The translation does not bear any date but most probably it was not made before 1067 A II, namely, the year in which Dārā translated the *Upanishads*.

To the above list we may add the following works, which are more or less, of a fragmentary character —

8 I learn from the *Makhzan ul Ghazā'ib*,<sup>3</sup> an extremely valuable biography of Persian poets that Dārā Shikūh had compiled a *Bayān*, or Anthology, which was used by the author of *Makhzan ul Ghazā'ib* in compiling his *Tadhkura*. It is unfortunate, however, that even a single copy of the *Bayān* cannot be traced in any of the Oriental libraries. It is needless to add that had the *Bayān* been available it must have thrown some light on the poetical taste of the prince and might also have enabled us to gather some more verses of the prince.

9 Dārā Shikūh is also the author of a large number of letters which are of no mean literary importance. The *Fayyād ul Kawānīn*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Library of the India Office* Vol I, column 1089

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Pers. MSS in the British Museum* Vol I, p 39

<sup>3</sup> MS copy in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, (No 239) of the *Hand list* p 3

<sup>4</sup> The *Fayyād ul Kawānīn* is a valuable collection of a large number of letters divided into three books. “(i) Letters of kings and princes (ii) Letters from nobles to each other and to kings and princes, and (iii) miscellaneous letters. (Salkar's *Awangzeb*, II, p 315). Copies of this work are extremely rare but I was fortunate

contains some eight letters written by the prince to Shāh Muhammad Dilruba, Shākh Muhibbullah of Allahabad and others, asking from them an explanation of certain obscure points of *Tawarikh*. I have also come across a number of letters, ascribed to him in certain books of *Inshā* and also in *Majmū'a's*, or the fragmentary collection of small tracts etc

10 In the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (No 701 of Blochet's Catalogue), there is a MS copy of *Nigāristān* i *Munā*, which contains at the end, the Introduction of a *Munakka'*, (or Album) which was as the compiler's note indicates, dictated by Dārā Shikūh. It is not known as to whether the Album was arranged by the Prince himself or that it belonged to some one else who asked him to write the Introduction. It may also be possible that this introduction in *Nigāristān* is of the same Album which Dārā presented to his "nearest and dearest wife" Nādir Begam, in 1051 A H (=1641 2 A D)

Besides the above works, of which the first four have been printed and the last three are in manuscript, there are other works ascribed to the authorship of Dārā which have not been traced so far. However, if an attempt is made at their identification and the statements of the various authors who have ascribed hitherto untraced works to Dārā are verified in the light of modern research it will, I hope, shed more light on the life and works of this prince. I append, herewith, a list of such works as are said to have been written by Dārā but have not so far as I know been traced in any of the important libraries of the East or the West —

1 *Risāla i Ma'ārif* — This is said to be a tract on, as its name indicates, the doctrines of mysticism. The author of *Khasnat ul Asfiyā*<sup>1</sup> (vol I, p 175) ascribes its authorship to Dārā Shikūh. Muhammad Latif, in his *Lahore*<sup>2</sup>, has also included it in the list of Dārā Shikūh's works but the latter appears to have only copied it from the *Khasana*

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in examining a MS copy of the above work. I have taken down a transcription of the letters of Dārā Shikūh which I propose to publish sometime later. Two of the above letters are included in a MS copy of *Safina i Bahr ul Muhit* preserved in the Berlin Library (Pertsch pp 40 45). Another letter which Dārā Shikūh wrote in 1055 A H (=1645 A D) is preserved in MS No 56 of the above library (Pertsch, p 115) and a letter to Samad was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1923

<sup>1</sup> By Mufti Ghulam Sarwar of Lahore (Lucknow 1874)

<sup>2</sup> Latif's *Lahore* (1892), p 64



5 *Maḡma' ul Bahāran*, or 'the Mingling of the Two Oceans', is the fifth work of Dā'ir Shikūh which he completed in 1065 A H namely, when he was forty two years old. As I have discussed the work more fully in subsequent pages, (pp 222-223, *infra*) I need not repeat what I have stated elsewhere.

6 *Upanishads*—This is a translation of some fifty chapters of the *Upanishads*, or *Upaniḡhat*, entitled *Sun i Akbar*,<sup>1</sup> made by Dā'ir Shikūh, in 1067 A H or some two years before his execution.

The chief merit of this translation lies in its simplicity and it must always be considered as one of the best specimens of easy, flowing style. I cannot do better than present to the reader a translation of the introductory pages of this work, which will give him, I believe, an adequate idea as to the reasons which prompted Dā'ir to undertake this work: the pains that he took to read the Old and the New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other Scriptures, his disappointment at not finding in these scriptures a true solution of the problem of *Tawḡīd*, and, finally, getting his heart's desire in the *Upanishads*.

He writes<sup>2</sup> "Praise be to the Self which has made the dot on the letter *bi* (ب) of *Bismillāh*, (in the name of God), an eternal secret in all the revealed books, and *Al Hamd* which is *Om al kutāb*, in the Holy *Ku'ān*, is a reference to His Great Name (*Im i A'ram*) in which are included all the angels, Heavenly Books, Prophets and Apostles. *Preface*. Now, thus saith, this griefless *fakir* Muhammad Dā'ir Shikūh, that when he visited the Paradise like *Kāshim*, in 1050, he had, through Divine grace and His boundless mercy occasion to become a disciple of Mullā Shāh.

As he had an ardent desire for seeing the God knowing devotees of the various 'orders' and hear their high utterance regarding monotheism, he had read the various works on mysticism and had himself composed tracts, but in spite of this, his thirst for understanding *Tawḡīd* which is a vast ocean, was increasing more and more.

<sup>1</sup> Anquetil Duperron 'the famous French traveller and discoverer of the Zend Avesta' translated the *Upanishads* into French (not published) and into Latin from the Persian translation made by Dā'ir Shikūh. It was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802. (See the *Upanishads* translated by Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* Vol I p lviii.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sun i Akbar* (A S B Curzon Collection, No II 151) fols 1b 2a b 3a, b and 4a. See also J A S B (New Series) Vol XIX, No 7, pp 242 to 244 and 250 to 252.

New problems were coming to his mind, the solution of which was impossible without a reference to the sayings of God or without (quoting) an authority from His Omniscient Self. Moreover, there were many secrets concealed in the Holy *Kur'ān* and the Sacred Book whose interpreter it was difficult to find. So, he (i.e. the author) desired to read all the revealed Books, for the utterances of God elucidate and explain one another. It may be that in one place it is found in compendium, while in others it may be given in detail and, as such, the compendium may be understood by the help of the detailed. I read the Old and the New Testaments and the Psalms of David and other scriptures but the discourse on *Tawhid* found in them was brief and in a summary form and, from the easy translations which have been made by interested persons, the object could not be realized.

Further the author says that he examined the religious works of the Hindūs "who do not negate monotheism," and found that the monotheistic verses contained in the four *Vedas* have been collected and elucidated in the *Upaniṣhat*, which is an ocean of monotheism. So he undertook a literal and correct translation of the work with the help of the Pandits and the Sanyāsīs of Benares and accomplished the work in 1067 A.H. He says: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved in spite of his best efforts becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain head of the ocean of monotheism, and in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the *Kur'ān*. And this *verse* appears to have been revealed for this very ancient book

إِنَّهُ لَقُرْآنٌ كَرِيمٌ فِي كِتَابٍ مَكْنُونٍ لَا يَمَسُّهُ إِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُونَ تَنْزِيلٌ مِّن رَّبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ  
(Ch. LVI 77, 78, 79) \*

It is ascertainable that the above verse does not refer to the Psalms, the Pentateuch and the Gospels, nor to the Secret Tablet (*Lauh-i-Mahfūz*), as the word *tanzil* cannot be applied to the latter. Now, as *Upaniṣhat* is a hidden secret and the actual verses of the *Kur'ān* can be found in it, it is certain that the hidden book (or, *kitāb-i-maknūn*) is a reference to this very ancient book. This *Palātī* has known unknown things and understood un-understood problems through the medium

وَأَعَدَّ إِنَّا مُوسَى الْكَاتِبَ مَنْ نَعَدَّ مَا أَهْلَكْنَا الْقُرُونِ الْأُولَى وَبَصَائِرَ لِلنَّاسِ  
وَهَدًى وَرَحْمَةً لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ \*

*And certainly We gave Moses the Book after We had destroyed the former generations, clear arguments for men and a guidance and a mercy, that they may be mindful (Ch xxviii 43)*

The tract is divided into six *fasls* (or sections) dealing with the four worlds of *Nāsūt*, or, the Human World (pp 8, 9), the *Malakūt*, or, the Invisible World (p 9-21), the *Jabarūt*, or, the Highest Heaven (p 21-22), and *Lāhūt*, or the World of Divinity (p 22). The fifth *fasl* deals with *Ḥawiyat* or Divine Essence and the sixth is a continuation of the same discussion. The author concludes the work by quoting one of his quatrains which shows that the tract was completed in 1056 A.H. and that it was written under inspiration.

"The whole of this tract is a compass of the Truth

and was completed in the year one thousand and fifty six

Consider this to be the work of *Kādm* (i.e. the Absolute) and not  
of *Kādm* (i.e. *Dīrā Shikūh*),

Understand whatever I have said, and put it on three'

4 *Shathiyāt*, or *Ḥasanāt ul 'Ārifīn*, is a collection of Sūfī aphorisms containing the ecstatic utterances of the mystics, which seemingly appear to be in direct contravention of the orthodox doctrines of Islam. The author says in the introduction that his mystic utterances and the expression of higher truths in moments of ecstasy gave rise to serious objections from interested quarters. He writes<sup>1</sup>

"As I had become dissatisfied with the current books of the men of the Path, and at times used to utter words containing the highest truth, in my ecstatic states, and some ill-natured and insecure people, out of shallow knowledge, began to taunt and accuse me of heresies, it struck me that I should collect sayings (called *Shathiyāt*) of high-souled and eminent men of sanctity as authorities for my professions, to convince those who are imbued with the spirit of Dujjal instead of that of Christ or with that of Pharaoh instead of that of Moses or with that

<sup>1</sup> I quote the English translation or rather the paraphrase given by Pandit Sheo Narain in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* Vol II, No 1, pp 28-29

of Abū Jahl instead of that of a Muḥammad. Some sayings had been, no doubt, collected by one Bukh<sup>1</sup>, but as they were in allegorical style, I have added more, and simplified the language so that it may be properly understood."

A perusal of the above extract will make it abundantly clear that Dāwī had reached a very high stage of spiritual life and, if we take his statement to be correct, there is no gainsaying that he indulged in such ecstatic effusions as were the exclusive privilege of those alone who were spiritually perfect. He has boldly supported his aphorisms and utterances by writing this work, which not only embodies the ecstatic utterances of the various divines and mystics—such as Bāyazīd, Dhun Nūn al Mīṣrī, Sahl b. 'Abdullāh at Tustarī, Abū Sa'īd Kharrāz, Junaid al Baḡḡadī, Ruwāim, Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī, Ahmadī Qhazzālī, Abdul Kādī al Jilāmī, Ibn al Arabī and others—but also of Prophet Muḥammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs and Imām Zayn al 'Abidin and Imām Ja'far al Sādiq. Dāwī concludes by saying that some truth seekers had asked him to embody in this work his own *Shāikh*, or aphorisms, but he replied by saying, "My *Shāikh* is that all the *Shāikhs* contained in this work are mine." This is certainly a very bold statement and may be said to do credit to the prince.

It appears from the introduction that Dāwī Shikūh undertook to write this work in 1062 A.H., when he was 28 years of age (p. 1),<sup>2</sup> and actually completed it on Monday the last day of Rabi' al Awwal, 1064 A.H., (p. 64). His conclusion is interesting as it gives us an insight into his mental attitude. He writes (p. 64) "He is fortunate who finds taste in these matters and is benefited by them and considers himself a sincere devotee of theirs (i.e. the Sūfis) and engages himself in such pursuits. God, the Generous, has said, 'We did not create the Jin and the human beings except for devotion.' All the erotic and esoteric commentators of the *Kuṭūb* have explained devotion by the word *Irfān* (or, Divine knowledge). Hence, nothing is better than *Tawḥīd* (monotheism) and *Ma'rifa* (Divine knowledge)." "

<sup>1</sup> The learned Pandit has wrongly read *Bukh* (بکھ) as *Bukh*. It is part of the name of *Shāikh* Rūzbahān Balchī the well known saint whose life Dāwī has noticed on p. 176 of his *Salwat ul Awliyā* (d. 606 A.H.).

<sup>2</sup> *Hasanāt ul Arafīn*, (Urdū translation) lithographed at Lahore and published by Malik Fadluddin Malik Chānanuddin and Malik Tājuddin, *Kakkay Zary*.

former has recorded in the *Sakina* but the following extract from the letters which the latter wrote to Dārī may serve to show the esteem in which the prince was held by his *Pir* and *Murshid*. He writes "I repose much trust in your wisdom and understanding" (Letter No 1, p 140) "You are well informed of divine mysteries" (Letter No 3, p 141) "O' temporal and spiritual King" (Letter No 9, p 147), etc

Moreover Mullā Shāh has written a special *Ḥikmah* in which he has exalted the spiritual attainments of Dūr Shikūh. He writes<sup>1</sup> —

The first and the second *Sāhib Kūān* (namely Amu 'Imām and Shāhjahān) are the kings of grandeur (whisk) on Dūr Shikūh is the *Sāhib Kūān* of heart

From the universe, the provision of the two worlds he has brought under his grip on account of the merchandise of his heart

We also learn from the *Sakinat ul Awliyā* that Mullā Shāh had asked Dārī to impart spiritual instructions to the *murīds*, but the *Ḥamā* who were known to Dārī dissuaded him from doing so (p 135). He took omen from the *Kūān* which was favourable to him but it appears that he never actually engaged himself in imparting spiritual instructions. Mullā Shāh exhorted Dārī, on the eve of his departure to Kashmir, "to advise the companions (*yūris*) as he was the wisest among them", and Dārī in his turn, requested him to pray for his future salvation (p 138). It also appears that Mullā Shāh was of opinion that the propagation of the *Kādim* mission in India would take place at the hands of the prince (p 139). Of the religious exercises in which Dārī engaged himself, there is one which deserves special mention, namely, his exercise of restraining the breath. He writes, "One day he (Mullā Shāh) said that the exercise of restraining the breath which prevails in our order is absent from all others, and is extremely difficult to perform. He taught me the method which is peculiar to this order. Of the exercises in which I engaged myself in the beginning (of my spiritualistic

<sup>1</sup> *Sakinat ul Awliyā* Cameron Collection No 113 fol 53b

صاحبزادہ اول، و نایب فرس حسب اند داراشکوہ ما سیدہ صاحبزادوں دل  
آخر رکاب مباح دو کوں را کرد او بدست خود ر مباح دکل دل

career), this is one and, as a result, I could pass the whole night whether it be long or short in two breaths and, at times, my condition became such as if my life was going to be extinct

3 *Risāla ʿi Hak Numā* or 'the Compass of the Truth, is the third work of Dārā Shikūh. It is a small tract of some thirty pages<sup>1</sup> dealing with the various stages of spiritual development and discussing the ways and means of reaching the highest pitch of spiritual perfection. The prince writes in the introduction that "none should read this *Risāla* unless he has got the companionship of some perfect (divine)" (p. 6). Further he adds that this tract is a compendium of *Futūḥāt*, *Fusūs ul Hikam*, *Lawā'ih*, *Lamū'āt*, *Lawāmi'* and other works of Sūfism and expects that, "if this tract is examined by a man of God, he will justly remark what a (wonderful) gate of Divine inspiration has been opened to this *ṣāḥib* and that God has in spite of his being in this garb (of a prince), opened to him the portals of saintliness and divine knowledge, so that human beings may know that His favour is without any (particular) cause. He draws towards Himself whomsoever He likes in whatever garb he be. This wealth (of Divine knowledge) is not bestowed on every one but has been bestowed specially on him" (p. 6). Dārā goes on speak in this strain. He says that his first work, *Safina* was a composition of the period of quest (after a perfect divine) and his second, *Sakīna*, was written after he had reached the companionship of such a divine and had learnt from him "the paths of *Sulūk* and the *Makāmāt* (or the stages of the Sūfis)," (p. 7). Lastly, he says, "Now that the gates of *Tawḥid* (Divine Unity) and '*Irfān* (Divine knowledge) have been opened to him by God, the Most Holy and High, and He has bestowed on him His special gifts and bounties, he records them in this tract" (p. 7). Dārā further speaks (p. 5) that he has uniformly named a book by taking omens from the Holy *Ku'ān*. He writes "In all my compositions I have followed the practice of taking omens from the Holy *Ku'ān* and naming them at the Divine instance. It had come to my mind to name this tract, *Hak Numā*, (or, the Compass of the Truth) and, when I took omen, the following Holy verse, which unmistakably points to this tract being a guide to truth and also to its greatness, came out"

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<sup>1</sup> Lithographed at the Naval Kishūr Press Lucknow 1910. It has also been translated into English and published by the Panini Office, Allahabad

1	Prophet Muhammad, the Caliphs (4), the <i>three Amā</i> <i>ul Muminīn</i> and the <i>Imāms</i> (18)	1--26
2	Saints of the <i>Kādmī</i> order	27--65
3	Saints of the <i>Nakshbandī</i> order	66--94
4	Saints of the <i>Chishtī</i> order	95--119
5	Saints of the <i>Kubrawī</i> order	120--139
6	Saints of the <i>Suhrawardī</i> order	140--159
7	Saints of the various minor orders	160--377
8	Wives of the Prophet	378--388
9	Daughters of the Prophet	389--392
10	Female mystics	393--417

In the introduction to the work Dārī styles himself as he has done in most of his later works *Hanafī*, *Kādmī*, namely, a follower of Imām Abū Hanifa and a *Murīd* of the order which owes its origin to Shaikh 'Abdul Kādm of Gilān, and concludes by hoping that his (i.e. Dārī's) future may be happy through the grace of the many divines and mystics whose lives he has noticed in this work.

2 *Sakinat ul Awliyā*—This is Dārī's second work which he wrote in his 28th year (p. 134),<sup>1</sup> in 1052 A.H. (p. 6), dealing with the biography of Miyan Mīr, or Miyan Jiv, the spiritual guide of his *Pir* and *Murshid*, Mullā Shāh,<sup>2</sup> called *Lisānullāh*, and his many disciples. Dārī Shikūh writes in the introduction to this work that on a certain Thursday, in the 24th year of his life, an angel cried out to him, in his dream, that he will get such a reward from God as has not been bestowed on any previous king, and the fulfilment of this message came on the 29th Dhul Hijja, 1049 when he was initiated into the *Kādmī* order by Mullā Shāh, who according to Dārī, was the greatest divine of his time. Dārī, besides noticing at considerable length the lives of Miyan Jiv, his sister Jamāl Khātūn, and his many disciples, the most notable among

<sup>1</sup> Urdu text version lithographed at Lahore.

<sup>2</sup> In Binyon's *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls* (Miltord, 1921) Plate No. XXXIII, there is a fine miniature portraying Miyan Jiv and Mullā Shāh sitting opposite to each other. And in Havell's *Indian Painting and Sculpture*, (London 1908) there is a fine painting, reproduced in colour in which Mullā Shāh and Khwāja 'Abdullāh are seen sitting opposite to Miyan Jiv and in Le Blochet's *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux* (Paris 1926) there is a portrait of Dārī Shikūh and Mullā Shāh, which the learned author could not identify.

whom is Mullā Shāh, discusses various Sūfistic and religious problems, such as the need of a spiritual guide, the way to find him, the desirability or otherwise of *Samāʿ* (or engagement in hearing esoteric songs), the problem of the vision of God (or *rūyat*), etc. In short, the work is replete with interesting discussions on the various problems of the Path and can be read with profit by the serious students of Sūfism. It appears that Dārā has supported his arguments by reference to or quotations from the various standard works of Tradition or Sūfism and the names of the following works to which Dārā has referred in this book, may serve to give an idea of the extensive studies of this prince: *Kashf ul Mahjūb* (p 5) *Tārikh-i-Yāfīʿi* (p 13), *Muʿjam ul Buldān* (p 14), *Sahih Muslim* (p 24), *Mishkāt* (p 24), *Bahr ul-Halāl* (p 63), *Tafsir-i-Sullamī*, (p 63), *Tafsir-i-Arāʾis* (p 64), *Tafsir-i-Kubshari* (p 64), *Fasl ul Khitāb* (p 65), *Takmilā* (p 81), *Tafsir-i-Husaini* (p 135)

This work is also valuable in another way, namely, that it gives us an insight into the relation which existed between Dārā and Miyyān Jiv and Mullā Shāh. He first meets Miyyān Jiv in the company of his father, Shāhjahān, in 1043 A H,<sup>1</sup> and the immediate effect of this meeting is his complete recovery from the serious malady he had been suffering from for the last four months (pp 38, 39). The second visit of Dārā, which was also paid in company of his father<sup>2</sup>, produces a still greater effect on him. He goes bare footed to the upper storey of Miyyān Jiv's house and, out of reverence to the saint, gathers the chewed clove thrown away by him. Next, he goes to him alone and pays him homage by placing his hands at his feet (p 41). This opened the portals of Divine mysteries on Dārā and Miyyān Jiv pronounced him to be his "very life and vision," (p 42). And it was through the kindness of Miyyān Jiv that Dārā received lessons in *Mushāhida* (or, Beholding of God) and also witnessed the *Lailat ul Qadr*, on the 27th Ramadān, 1050 A H. The relations that existed between Dārā and his spiritual guide, Mullā Shāh, were more intimate and endured up to the latter's death, in 1072 A H. It is impossible to reproduce even in brief the many personal reminiscences of Dārā's relations with Mullā Shāh which the

<sup>1</sup> The interview took place on the 17th Shawwāl 1043 A H (see *Bādshāhnāma* vol I part II, p 12 and *Salmat ul Awlayā* pp 38-39)

<sup>2</sup> This interview took place on the 8th Rajab, 1044 A H (see *Bādshāhnāma*, vol I part II p 65 and *Salmat ul Awlayā*, p 39)



deserted him his best supporters left him and the climax of calamities was reached when Nāḍua Begum, his dearest and best loved wife, was snatched away by the cruel hand of Death. Dārā presented a miserable figure, he was a broken man and resigned himself to the will of God. His sufferings, however, were soon to end. He was captured by Mīr Jiwan of Dadar his Afghān host, and brought to Delhi under the escort of Aurangzib's generals and paraded through the streets on a large elephant. He underwent a mock trial at the hands of Aurangzib's 'Ulamā and was found guilty of apostasy from Islām. The younger brother passed orders for his execution,<sup>1</sup> which was carried out on the night of Wednesday, 21st Dhul Hijja,<sup>2</sup> 1069 A.H. So died Dārā, the eldest son of Shāhjahān and the would be emperor of Hindūstān.

#### DARĀ AS AN AUTHOR

A perusal of the writings of Dārā Shikūh will make it abundantly clear that he had Sūfistic leanings from a very early age. He

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the trial of Dārā Shikūh and the charges brought against him see *Māthūn* i *Ālamgiri*, (Bib Ind.) p. 1. *Ālamgirnāma* (Bib Ind.), pp. 31-36 in which the charges are enumerated in some detail, and p. 112 where the immediate reasons of the execution are given. *Muntalḥab ul Lubāb*, (Bib Ind.), ii p. 87 in which Dārā is accused of vilifying *Tasawwif*. *Manucci Storia Do Mogor* i pp. 356-358, gives a very graphic account of the execution but makes the highly incredible statement that Dārā wanted to embrace Christianity in his last moments, Bernier's account (*Travels* p. 100) is brief. J. N. Sarkar (*Aurangzeb* i pp. 296-299 and ii pp. 213-219) gives the best account based, among others on *Tārīkh* i *Shāh Shujā* of Mir Muhammad Masūm.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, (Bib Ind.), 132. According to *Māthūn* i *Ālamgiri* (Bib Ind.), p. 27, Dārā was executed on the night of Thursday the 21st Dhul Hijja the author of *Amal i Sālik* (Elliot iii, p. 241) records on the 26th Dhul Hijja. Iḥṣān *(Muntalḥab ul Lubāb*, ii, p. 87) says that Dārā was executed on the last (*ākhir*) day of Dhul Hijja (i.e. 20th) while Mufti Ḥulīm Saḥwā (*Khatmat ul Asyā*, i, p. 174) records the date of execution on the 1st Muharram 1070 A.H. which is evidently wrong. H. Blochmann (*J. A. S. B.* xxxix i p. 277) accepts the 21st Dhul Hijja and says that it was *Thursday evening*. He observes:

The last day (29th Zi Ḥijjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zi Ḥijjah is Tuesday 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian says Dārā was killed on a *Wednesday evening*. This fully agrees with our computation for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o'clock P.M.

had studied the well known works of the Sūfis of Islām and had examined their contents very closely and minutely. We find him making very apt quotations from the works of the various masters of Sūfism and also deducing relevant, but mostly independent, conclusions from the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Prophet. He appears to be independent in his judgment and bold in his conclusions. He does not seem to make a fetish of the stereotyped dogmas nor, necessarily, follows the beaten path. His studies in Sūfism lead him to the conclusion that Truth is not the exclusive property of any particular or 'chosen' race but that it can be found in all religions and at all times. But this conclusion was not reached in one day. It was the result of deep study and continued association with the divines of different religions and the Sūfis of various shades of opinion. This gradual development of the mental attitude of Dā'ir is a very interesting study. His is a mind which advances from the commonplace to the sublime. We can have some idea of this gradual advancement from a perusal of the various works and their contents, a list of which I give here in their chronological order.

1. *Safinat ul Awliyā*, is the first work of Dā'ir, which he wrote in his 25th year (27th Rāmādān 1049 A.H.). He writes in the introduction to this work that he had a particular respect for the Sūfis and the religious divines, and had studied their lives closely but had been disappointed to find that the details of their lives were scattered in the pages of so many different manuscripts. Moreover, as he remarks on p. 12, the dates of the birth and death of many mystics were wanting in the standard biographies of the Sūfis, to wit, the *Nafahāt ul Uns*, *Tārīkh* i *Yāfi'ī* and *Taba'āt i Suliām*. So he contrived to compose this work with the distinct object of supplying, within a very short compass, the details regarding the dates of birth and death, the place of burial and other important particulars of the saints of Islām. The extent as well as the conciseness of the work is apparent from the fact that in some 200 pages,<sup>1</sup> Dā'ir has noticed the lives of about 411 saints and divines, including the Prophet, his wives, the Orthodox Caliphs and the Imāms. The following is a detailed list of the contents of the work —

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<sup>1</sup> The Nawal Kishūn edition (1884) comprises 218 pages

and the first glimpse that we get of him is at the time when he is handed over to Jahāngir<sup>1</sup> as a hostage on behalf of his rebel father, Khurram, and jealously guarded by his step grandmother, Nūr Juhān. Dīr was detained at Lahore up to the date of Shāhjahān's accession (1037 A.H. = 1627 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> When Dīr Shikūh returned to Agra he was about 13 years old and it must have been about this time that Shāhjahān would have given earnest and serious attention to imparting higher education to him. But there is nothing on record so far as I know to show how far Dārā Shikūh had progressed in his studies and what special endeavours had been made by his father to educate him in accordance with the best traditions of the Mughls. What the Court Historians inform us of is not about the progress made by Dārā in his study of Philosophy<sup>3</sup> or Calligraphy but of the showering of royal favours, in the form of presents and gifts and promotions in official rank, etc. But we must confess that such matters can hardly interest us. They can only be used profitably by a chronicler of Dārā's political history and not by one who aims at tracing the literary attainments of this illustrious prince. So, I am constrained to pass over the many unimportant events recorded in the official and non official histories of the reigns of Shāhjahān and Aurangzib, and would only make a passing reference to some of the more important ones.

Dārā, as is generally known, was the most loved child of Shāhjahān and, as such, the Emperor did not like to lose his company by sending him to distant provinces. The other princes, Shujā', Murād and Aurangzib, were sent out as provincial governors but Dārā "the eldest child of the Khilāfat" was kept at the Imperial Court, under the very eyes of his fond father who was unwilling to part company with him. This excess of love was unfortunate in two ways. It aroused the jealousy of the other princes and shut out Dārā from gaining first hand experience as a soldier and an administrator. Undoubtedly, he was appointed

<sup>1</sup> Dārā was handed over, along with Aurangzib to Jahāngir in June, 1626 A.D. *Muntakhab ul Lubāb* Vol. I, p. 377, *Tauk-i Jahāngir* ('Aligarh, 1864) p. 301. Beni Prasad's *Jahāngir* p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Dārā Shikūh was escorted with Aurangzib to Agra and received by the parents on the 1st Rajab 1037 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 177-178. *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 398.)

<sup>3</sup> We only learn that Mullā Muḥammad Harawī was appointed as a tutor of Dārā (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol. I, Part II, p. 344. *Sahīfat ul Awāḥyā*, p. 47).

governor of the provinces of Allahabad<sup>1</sup> and the Panjāb,<sup>2</sup> but he was allowed to live at the capital and rule through his agents. This rule by proxy could hardly make him experienced. He also led the Kandhān campaign in 1053 A.H.<sup>3</sup> But, from the accounts of the campaign, it is apparent that it was not like an expedition led to a distant land or a march through difficult and perilous territory but rather the triumphant pageant of a victorious general. The expedition was unsuccessful, so was the previous one led by Aurangzib. But it cannot be denied that Dārā made certain tactical blunders and the over concern of his father for him hastened his recall,<sup>4</sup> the task being thus left unaccomplished.

It will appear therefore that Dārā was more a man of the court than of the camp, but it cannot be denied, at the same time, that he possessed an extraordinary capacity for adaptability. A prince who had passed his days in the luxuries of a most magnificent Mughal court, would have been expected to be utterly hopeless in the field of action, but we find that Dārā can compose himself, he can adjust himself to his environment and can face the frowns of fortune with a dignified countenance and a lofty resignation. In the struggle for succession, which followed the illness of Shāhjahān in 1067 A.H., Dārā displayed all his latent powers of organisation and generalship, but he was no match for the sun-dried diplomat and general—Aurangzib. The three brothers Shujā', Aurangzib and Murād were marching on Āgra with a well equipped and trained army and Dārā had to face them with all the resources at his disposal. He sent his son Sulaimān Shikūh against Shujā', who was routed and turned back but, before Sulaimān could come to the rescue of his father, the latter had been defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzib and Murād, at Samūgarh (7th Ramādān, 1068 A.H.). The battle of Samūgarh sealed the fate of Dārā, who fled to Āgra thence to Lahore, Multān, Bhakkar, Gujarāt and Cutch. He returned and fought with Aurangzib but only to be turned back after an ignominious defeat. The flight of Dārā is a very painful episode of suffering, privation and misery. His companions

<sup>1</sup> Allahabad and the forts of Rohtas and Janāda was given to Dārā on the 1st Jamāda I 1055 A.H. (*Bādshāhnāma* Vol II p 424)

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma* Vol II p 611

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* Vol II, pp 291-308

<sup>4</sup> *Muntakhab ul Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.) p 591

## TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

ا	ā	ص	d
ل	<u>lh</u>	ط	t
ح	<u>ch</u>	ظ	z
ه	h	ع	'a, 'i, 'n
خ	kḥ	ع	ḡh
د	<u>dh</u>	ق	k
ر	r	و	ū
ز	<u>zh</u>	ي	'u, 'i, 'n
س	śh	ی	i v
ص	ṣ		

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## ERRATA

p 3, l 3	For Kandhān	read Kandihān
p 11, l 17	„ <i>Shath</i>	„ <i>Shath</i>
p 11, l 34	„ Rūzbihān	„ Rūzbihān
p 12, l 4	„ pp xxx—xxxiii	„ pp 30—33
p 21, l 28	„ See (	„ (See
p 23, l 29	„ Kandhān	„ Kandihār
p 33, l 13	„ page 5	„ page (III 7) 83
p 39 l 35	„ See p 6, n I	„ See p 8, n I
p 40, l 36	„ <i>Rasa</i>	„ 10 <i>Rasa</i>
p 47, l 16	„ ( <i>Āw</i> ) ā	„ ( <i>Āwā</i> )
p 48, l 10	„ <i>Dhamma</i>	„ <i>Damma</i>
p 51, l 11	„ <i>ruyat</i>	„ <i>riyat</i>
p 53, ll 20, 21	„ Ghaffarī	„ Ghaffarī
p 55, l 14	„ (Path) ā	„ (Path)
p 60, l 35	„ p 13	„ p 49
p 97, l 10	„ ابی راه	„ ابی راه
p 98, ll 16, 17	„ عماری	„ عماری

## INTRODUCTION

Dārī Shikūh, the author of the present work, was born at Ajmir, onday night the 29th Safar 1024 A H),<sup>1</sup> the city hallowed by the memory of the great mystic, Mu‘inuddīn Chishtī, whose tomb there has, centuries past, been visited by the devoted followers of the Prophet and his father, Shihjāhīn, had also frequented the tomb of the celebrated saint and prayed earnestly for the birth of a son, for his two eldest children had been daughters.<sup>2</sup> The prayer was accepted as it is said, and Dārī's birth was naturally hailed with the outburst of feelings of joy by his devoted parents.

The prince himself records the circumstances attending his birth, while noticing the life of Mu‘inuddīn Chishtī in his *Safinat ul Awliyā*.<sup>3</sup>

“ And this *ṣakī* was born in the suburbs of Ajmir, by the (lake of) gai Tāl, on the 1st day of Safar, Monday midnight, 1024 A H. As the house of my respected father three daughters had been born and there were no male issues and (as) the age of His Majesty had reached twenty-four years, on account of the faith and devotion that he had for the *Khwāṣr* (i.e. Mu‘inuddīn Chishtī) prayed, with thousand presentations and supplications, for the birth of a son. And with His grace and aid, the Most High brought this meanest slave of his (i.e. Dārā Shikūh) to existence who hopes that He will grant him the grace of doing good and will bring to his host His goodwill and that of His friends. *Āmin* O Lord of the world’ Thus, it is a happy coincidence that Dārī who was born at the city of a great mystic and divine turned out to be a devout Sūfī and a man of the Path’ throughout his life.

### EARLY LIFE

We know very little about Dārī's early life, for the Mughal historians, who have primarily been the chroniclers of the political events occurring in the State, give us very scanty information on the subject,

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. I, Part 1, p. 391. *Amal-i Sālīk* (Bib. Ind.) vol. I, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Hūr Nisā Begam (b. 8th Safar, 1022 A H, and d. 4th Rabi‘ II, 1025 A H) and Jahān Ārā Begam (b. 21st Safar 1023 A H and d. Ramadān 1092 A H).

Nawal Kishūr Edition, p. 94.

prefer to approach the problem through translations such as the Persian translation of the Upanisads or through systematic treatises such as the one that forms the subject of the present volume. The whole subject has been scarcely touched. Speyer in his *De Indische Theosophie* has in one of his chapters dealt with the influence of Indian philosophy on the West and has shortly spoken about Kabir, the Sikhs Akbar and Ram Mohan Roy. De Massignon has recently published and translated the conversations between Dīrī Shikūh and Bībī Līl Dās. 'Abdul Wāh has dealt with the relations between Dīrī Shikūh and Saimad (*Journal*, A S B, Vol XX). The most fundamental discussion however, hitherto of Indian influence on Muhammadan mysticism seems M. Horten's *Indische Stromungen in der islamischen Mystik* (Heidelberg 1927 and 1928). The two parts of the work contain ample bibliographical references.

Now Professor Mahfuz ul Haq comes, in the present publication, with a contribution of singular interest for this subject. It is not that this "Mingling of the two Oceans" proves to be a book of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary it seems poor in spirit and largely verbal. But it gives us a starting point. From this little book we can work backwards and forwards. It is an apt focus for further research.

Professor Haq, by his painstaking translation and by the fullness of his annotation has deserved well of his readers and has made easy the task of students in this particular field who may be neither Sanskritists nor Persianists. Above all, by his careful and straightforward work he has taken away a false glamour with which the tragic death of its author had endowed the booklet as long as it remained sealed. But in this connection a word of caution suggests itself. We feel that the absence of the glow of true inspiration in the treatise is obvious. But is this poverty of quality a true measure of Dāra's attitude and endowments? From other data known concerning him it is legitimate to regard this question as one open to a certain measure of doubt. Have we not rather to esteem the matter of fact substance and the terminological comparisons of the treatise not as the measure of his vision but as the measure of his prudence? After all he was executed as a heretic. Could he in his time and in his circumstances have said more than he did in this work without danger of dire consequences? All these are matters of speculation, but of great human interest. We shall only know for certain when his whole *œuvre* is made accessible to us, and we are grateful to Professor Haq for having made a beginning. Dīrī Shikūh, whether he was great of soul or only an aristocratic but small dabbler in great things, will remain a tragic figure in human history. As the last continuator of a short line of activity begun by his great grandfather the great Akbar, he is also an historical figure in the development of Indian thought. For all these and many other reasons we welcome the present work in which from beyond the gulf of death the voice of Hindu Muslim Unity has been given life again, insistent, sincere and tragic.

CALCUTTA  
15th May, 1929 }

JOHAN VAN MANLĀN

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## IMPORTANT ERRATUM

All page numbers given in the margins on p 78 of the work (p 2 of Section III, Text) and on pp 117 128 of the work (pp 1 12 of Section IV, Variants) should be increased by 2, as by an oversight the page numbers of the title leaves of the two sections have not been taken into account. Owners are advised to make the necessary corrections in their copies.





## FOREWORD

The 'science of religion' has in the last fifty years developed and progressed in many ways. We have the comparative, the historical, the sociological and the psychological methods. Of late a new school has arisen which is well exemplified by its forerunner James (*Varieties of Religious Experience*), and latterly by Otto (*Das Heilige* and *Die Religionen*), a school which relegitimates history and philology to the background to concentrate in the first place on the religious experience itself. Pielt in his recent work *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* applies the principle in a practical way and rightly says "To give the feeling of an alien religion it is necessary to do more than expound its concepts and describe its history. One must catch its emotional undertone, enter sympathetically into its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols, its cult, its art and then seek to impart these things not merely by scientific exposition but in all sorts of indirect ways." *Non scholæ sed vitæ* is the motto of this school.

Nevertheless, history and philology will remain indispensable accessories. And also in the historical method there is development and subdivision. A group of phenomena of great interest and importance but scarcely as yet touched upon is the one furnished by what may be called the symbiotics of religion. In Europe, the confluence of paganism and Christianity has submerged all paganism without destroying it. In Java, the confluence of Indonesian animism, Hinduism and Islam has produced a doctrinal, terminological and sentimental complex which is difficult to analyse and is an example of permeation without suppression. In China, Confucianism and Buddhism have remained unmixed side by side, whilst Buddhism has intimately influenced Taoism, chiefly in the popular strata. In India, likewise Hinduism and Islam have remained oil and water, though a subtle influence has perhaps been exercised upon later Islamic mysticism and magic by the surrounding Hindu atmosphere. On the contrary the purely artificial individual endeavours of an Akbar and a Dārā Shikūh to introduce Hindu thought and speculation into Persian literature have remained almost completely isolated and sterile. A little literary theological island has been created which has remained uninhabited and from which no travellers have undertaken further voyages into the world of Islām. The rich and fertile results of the introduction of Greek thought into the Arabic and the mediæval western world is in this instance counterbalanced by an entire lack of consequences, and the effort was still born. Nevertheless syncretistic and remastic tendencies are always interesting and deserve attention. The sharply defined and definitely circumscribed literary activity of the few notable Muhammadans who have sought to transplant Indian thought into the Islamic world is of such a nature and moreover connected with incidents of human and dramatic value.

It is difficult to decide where to begin in this study with the artificial endeavours of rulers like Akbar or Dārā Shikūh or with those of humbler mystics without autocratic influence. One might either



**MAJMA‘-UL-BAHRAIN**  
**OR**  
**THE MINGLING OF THE TWO OCEANS**  
**BY**  
**PRINCE MUHAMMAD DĀRĀ SHIKŪH**

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN  
WITH  
ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND VARIANTS

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